STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE Nation

VOLUME 148 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 21, 1939 NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

LIFT THE EMBARGO! 77
THE SHAPE OF THINGS 78
EDITORIALS:
WPA AND WALL STREET 81
MUSSOLINI STANDS PAT 81
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND "THE NATION"
A LETTER FROM MICHAEL WILLIAMS WITH AN ANSWER BY THE EDITORS 82
WHAT HAPPENED AT LIMA by Hubert Herring 84
MUST DEMOCRACY USE FORCE? I. PACIFISM MEANS SUICIDE by Aurel Kolnai 86
THREE SOUTHERN TOWNS. III. KINGSPORT: THEY PLANNED IT by Willson Whitman 88
ASIA FOR THE JAPANESE by Ernest O. Hauser 90
POCKET GUIDE by Helen Woodward 92
IN THE WIND 93
ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 94
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
MAJOR ELIOT ON NATIONAL DEFENSE by Keith Hutchison 95
FROM PLAINS TO SALT WATER by Constance Rourke 96
ZOOLOGY, ILLUSTRATED by Hugh H. Darby 96
FALLADA AMONG THE NAZIS by Robert Vambéry 97
A CATHOLIC IN MAJORCA by Mildred Adams 98
ART AS EXPRESSION by Eliseo Vivas 98
ARAGON'S "REAL WORLD" by Justin O'Brien 99
AN INDIAN'S MEMORIES by Eda Lou Walton 100
DRAMA: TWO HITS by Joseph Wood Krutch 100
FILMS by Franz Hoellering 102

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON
MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

Lift the Embargo!

THOSE whose belief in democracy is more than rhetoric have no more important task at this session of Congress than to fight for repeal of the arms embargo on Spain. Hearings on the Neutrality Act open before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on January 25, but the question of the Spanish embargo is too pressing to wait upon a general revision of the act itself. The embargo was imposed as a piece of special legislation rushed through Congress under pressure from various reactionary sources. Its repeal, too, must be specially considered. The combination of duplicity and inertia that has led the democratic powers to lend at least passive aid to the destruction of democracy in Spain is one of the most shameful crimes of the shameful age in which we live. The American people cannot afford to be partners any longer in the tragic farce of "non-intervention," and the Administration must summon up all its courage and propose repeal of the embargo or confess that the brave words of the President's message to Congress ring untrue on the hard counter of deed and fact.

It is no secret that the only real obstacle to repeal of the embargo is Catholic pressure. The leadership of the church is deliberately attempting to nullify the expressed pro-Loyalist sentiment of a majority of the American people. Few campaigns in recent years have been as hysterical or as bitter as that now being conducted to prevent the lifting of the embargo. Many leading Catholic papers are devoting their entire issues almost exclusively to the Spanish question, and despite the plain fact, revealed by the Gallup and other polls, that most Americans favor the republic, the Catholic press has the effrontery to declare that the movement against the embargo is Communist-inspired and to attempt to stigmatize all the leaders of the pro-Loyalist movement as "red." Michael Williams, in a letter published and answered in this issue, complains that we have no evidence to support our frequent criticism of the American Catholic hierarchy. The tactics being used in the campaign to keep the embargo against Spain testify eloquently to the truth of our charges.

In this hysteria Catholic leadership has overplayed its

Published weekly and copyright, 1939, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hand. For when the one group in America which is pro-Franco stands alone in advocating the continued application of the Neutrality Act to Spain, it is evident that that act is far from "neutral." In order to prevent this from being generally realized, the Catholic hierarchy has tried desperately to line up a few non-Catholic individuals to advocate retention of the embargo. In this they have failed. At the mass-meeting held in Washington on January 9, the Catholic "Keep the Spanish Embargo Committee" was unable to induce a single prominent non-Catholic to deliver an address. A few leading non-Catholics signed the original petition for retaining the embargo, but subsequent investigation revealed that two of the most prominent of these also signed petitions for the lifting of the embargo and had signed the Catholic petition by mistake.

The hierarchy's intransigent position on the embargo is the more difficult to understand in view of the fact that a very substantial minority—42 per cent—of the Catholic population, as shown by the Gallup poll, sympathizes with the Loyalists. This fact is not denied by the Catholic press, but is explained on the ground that a substantial number of Catholics do not read the "truth" as contained in Catholic publications. The truth is that if the Loyalists lose in Spain, fascism will have gained a powerful foothold in the West, and the effects upon the church as well as upon the democracies will be disastrous. The center from which Latin America still draws its cultural sustenance will be fascist. France, with three frontiers to defend against fascists, will be immeasurably weakened; no one can doubt that the next step against it would be to foment a civil war. The British Tories, not too democratic under any circumstances, will hasten to make their peace with fascism, and peace can only be made—as the history of Germany's smaller and weaker neighbors indicates—by curtailing basic liberties and moving toward totalitarianism. Spain's struggle is democracy's struggle; it is not too much to say that in the mountain fastnesses of Catalonia the destiny of our century is being decided.

Lift the embargo, and strengthen the forces struggling in Britain and France against Munich and surrender. Lift it, and bring aid to masses as desperate as were our Continentals. Lift it, and make possible their victory. The defeat of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain would reverse the whole momentum of events since 1931, and strike a deadly blow at the axis dictatorships. In a world dominated by them Christianity would be a mockery, and history will yet demonstrate to American Catholics that they have been fighting on the wrong side of the fence. The millions of Americans who believe in democracy for Spain as well as for America must take immediate action to counter the barrage of telegrams laid down by Father Coughlin. Wire your Congressman and Senator today. The embargo must go.

The Shape of Things

*

THE PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE PROGRAM MAY seem modest, at least by contrast with the paper schemes which have recently darkened the Washington sky. But there is in reality nothing picayune about a proposal to add another 3,000 planes to our existing total of 3,800 military and naval units and our authorized strength of 5,320 planes. The President does suggest important expenditures on other arms of the services, but he places his main emphasis on aviation, and that is the purpose for which the bulk of the money is required. One searches the message in vain to discover why. Is it just a case of turn about is fair play? Is aviation getting a big hand this year because last year the navy got the limelight and the cash? Or does the most recent Gallup poll provide the explanation? That showed eight out of every ten voters favoring a larger army and navy but nine out of ten plumping for a larger air force. Popular sentiment on this matter has perhaps been unduly affected by the supposed influence of the threat of fascist bombers on the British and French governments in the September crisis. But whatever role inequalities of air power are playing in Europe, no one can contend that this country could be directly menaced by hostile air fleets so long as the navy remained intact. In the present state of the world we do not deny the necessity for armaments in this country or even the probability that considerable additions to our existing defenses may be wise. But we do question the wisdom of letting decisions as to the type of arms we require be influenced by poorly informed popular sentiment.

*

IN TRUE POST-MUNICH STYLE THE JAPANESE press has launched a campaign against the fortification of Guam as part of the American rearmament program. One newspaper declares that "the Japanese people are determined to smash the American fleet" if the project is carried through. In this connection it is important to recall that the fortification of United States possessions in the western Pacific would probably have been carried out fifteen years ago had it not been for the naval-limitation agreement. In this treaty the United States, France, and Great Britain agreed to refrain from building new fortifications within a specified area on the understanding that Japan would abide by the 5-5-3 naval ratios and the provisions of the Nine-Power Pact signed at the same time. These latter, which Secretary Stimson declared to be interrelated and interdependent, obligated Japan to respect the territorial and administrative integrity of China and to preserve the Open Door. Great Britain's firm note to Japan delivered this past week-end points out clearly how far Japan has fallen short of fulfilling its end of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bargain. When Britain abandons its appeasement policy long enough to register a vigorous protest against aggression, it is hardly fitting for the United States to yield to Japan's angry protests. Such an action would destroy all hope of an effective democratic front against aggression in the Far East.

*

SOME THIRTEEN HUNDRED STEP-CHILDREN of King Cotton and the AAA pitched their dreary camps last week along U. S. Routes 60 and 61 in Missouri in one of the most dramatic demonstrations in the long history of Southern poverty. Under the leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, men, women, and children, with their pathetic belongings and ragged clothes, hovered over open fires in winter weather along 150 miles of the public highway in an attempt to show the country the desperate situation of a large sector of Southern farm labor. Their plight is the direct responsibility of the federal government. Landlords unwilling to share with their tenants the benefits paid for acreage reduction have shifted their "hands" from a share-cropping to a day-labor basis; there has also been an increase in mechanization. As a result, within the past two or three years thousands of farm families have been evicted from the tumble-down shacks they once called home. On the plea of protecting the public health, local and state authorities removed the peaceful but stubborn demonstrators from the public view. Some have been returned to their former homes; others are being temporarily housed in public buildings in the section. Meanwhile, landowners are mumbling threats at "agitators" and calling for a federal investigation. The principal agitators in this case are hunger and despair; and certainly a federal investigation by the AAA or the Farm Security Administration or both is in order. The Tenant Farmers' Union is demanding that Congress appropriate $125,000,000 specifically for the relief of Southern farm labor. The present policy of solving the problem by ignoring it can only be disastrous.

*

JERSEY JUSTICE HAS DONE ALL IT CAN TO Joseph Scutellaro. When a jury last week found him guilty of manslaughter in the death of Harry Barck, Overseer of the Poor in Hoboken, the little unemployed carpenter, half-starved, half-dead for that matter, for he is a victim of encephalitis, stared blankly. He was, as he himself had cried out in the course of his trial, "in a fog, where I am lost. I have suffered so in that jail." On a February morning a year ago, when there was no food in his house, when both his children were sick and his wife desperate, Scutellaro went to Barck's office to ask again for relief. Barck said: "If you want money, send your wife out on to Washington Street and tell her to swing her bag." Such advice was not unusual in the case of applicants without political connections. There was a scuffle. When the police arrived they found Barck dead from a wound inflicted by a desk-spindle on which he placed relief rejections. It will never be known exactly what happened. Scutellaro insists that Barck, in attempting to seize him, fell upon the spindle. The Hoboken authorities are mainly interested in drawing the curtain, which the trial momentarily pulled back, over the terrible realities of the lives of men and women on relief in New Jersey. A death sentence would have had the opposite effect. The jury's verdict, carrying a maximum penalty of ten years, has the advantage, for Hoboken, of putting the bewildered little man back behind the bars. He will probably not outlive his sentence.

*

UNLESS GOVERNOR LEHMAN INTERVENES, five poverty-ridden youths from New York's East Side will be executed next week for the murder of a detective in a neighborhood hold-up. Too often such cases are treated as routine elements in the continuing tragedy of slum life; this time public officials, social workers, and lawyers have been stirred to protest. They have not only unveiled several dubious links in the prosecution's case, but have soberly exposed the facts about the miserable environment in which these five youths grew up. Innocent or guilty, the defendants were long ago framed by the slums. We hope that Governor Lehman will grant a commutation of sentence if only to make possible a more conclusive review of the case.

*

THE TROUBLE WITH THE LIMA CONFERENCE, a retrospective survey of which is furnished by Hubert Herring on another page, was that its preliminary build-up was quite out of proportion to its possible achievements. The yawning gulf between expectation and performance encourages cynicism, which can only be strengthened when official spokesmen, such as A. A. Berle, hail the results as "brilliant" and "far-reaching." Secretary Hull, in a statement on his return, referred in exaggerated terms to the magniloquent "Declaration of Lima"—the spacious generalizations of which thinly disguised the impossibility of agreement on a specific policy. Actually, as Mr. Herring suggests, the value of the conference lay not in the resolutions adopted but in the intangible contributions it made to understanding and good-will. In the promotion of the latter Mr. Hull's patent sincerity and high character were undoubtedly factors of importance. The delegates to the conference must have been impressed, as are the great majority of his countrymen, by his patient and hardworking idealism. Nevertheless, we are entitled to ask whether the effectiveness of that idealism would not be increased if it were clarified by a little more realism. It is one thing to accept

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with good grace the thin harvest of a stony soil. It is something else again to overestimate the value of that harvest, to make believe that everything in the Lima garden was lovely, and to insist that its democratic walls were proof against any serpent of intrigue.

*

CHILE'S NEW POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT, whose birth was described by Freda Kirchwey in our last issue, has got off to a flying start with a broad and vigorous reform program. A vast new 500,000,000-peso public-works plan has been announced; another 10,000,000 pesos is to be spent for the care of tubercular patients; and 8,000,000 pesos have been set aside to provide clothing for poor school children. A government low-cost housing program is being prepared; also a plan for distributing bread and meat at low cost to the working class. In order to increase agricultural production an impressive scheme has been devised for colonizing federal land. Freight rates for farm products have been cut by 50 per cent, and interest rates have been abolished on fertilizer loans. As a safeguard against an uprising of reactionaries similar to the Spanish revolt, President Aguirre Cerda has accepted the resignation of seven generals and a large number of other officials, including many of Chile's diplomatic representatives abroad. In addition, fifteen aviation colonels and the commanders of the military school and of all units of the Santiago garrison are slated to retire. No reform government can be safely judged on the basis of the plans announced during its first weeks in office, but at least Chile seems to be profiting by the mistakes made elsewhere.

*

AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE Endowment for International Peace, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler is a fiery critic of aggressor nations; as president of Columbia University he is fond of inveighing against totalitarian propaganda techniques. How does he reconcile these pronouncements with the role of unofficial social ambassador for Italian Fascist propagandists? From a trustworthy source *The Nation* has learned that Dr. Butler is now exerting strenuous efforts to brighten the impending visit of Signora Margherita Sarfatti, Mussolini's friend and biographer, whose unscholarly but warm celebration of Il Duce has won her wide recognition in Italy. Among other things Dr. Butler has written to the presidents of numerous colleges urging them to welcome her to their lecture platforms; the Signora, although she is a Jewess, will no doubt recite the recent wonders wrought by Il Duce. While Signora Sarfatti is a distinctly minor menace, Dr. Butler's astigmatism in relation to Italy has assumed major proportions. Several years ago *The Nation* exposed in detail the Fascist domination of the Casa Italiana on Morningside Heights; but the Casa Italiana remains, and so does Dr. Butler's inability to detect any link between the Rome he serves and the Berlin he deplores. We do not suspect him of anything so contemporary as allegiance to the Fascist program. It is more likely that he has been so loaded with honors by Mussolini that he now instinctively regards any friend of Il Duce's as a friend indeed. We once more insist that he choose between his role as impresario for Italian Fascist agents and his role as guardian of the world's conscience.

*

COLUMNISTS LIPPMANN AND THOMPSON have found a way out—and up. And strangely enough it is President Roosevelt, inventor of all those terrible New Deal methods, who has given them the clue. On January 9 Mr. Lippmann announced that the President's message, naming religion as the source of democracy and international good faith, indicated a "fundamental reorientation in the liberal democratic outlook upon life." It reflected a world trend, he said, and he cited the collapse of the French general strike as one of the happy effects of the reconciliation between the "democratic masses, the army, and the church" in that country. He finally landed on a fleecy cloud far from the troubles of a mundane world. The President's message, he said, "is an event in modern history comparable, so to speak, with the Communist Manifesto of 1848. For in that manifesto there were anticipated and propounded the principal ideas which have been dissolving the structure of Western society. This message contains within it . . . the outline of that reconstruction in their moral philosophy which the democracies must undertake if they are to survive." The very next day Dorothy Thompson flew up to join him. In a column entitled Thoughts After Lippmann—and Roosevelt, she said she couldn't understand why this aspect of the message had not struck her more forcibly. "And I think," she said modestly, "that the reason is that I have been living with this conception so long that I have come to take it for granted." It will be hard, substituting Frank Buchman for Karl Marx, "God-control" for the class struggle. But Lord and Lady Atlas have spoken, and we know how futile it is for him who is without syndicates to cast the first stone—or even a whole shower of mere economic facts.

*

HERBERT HOOVER HAS ADDED HIS VOICE to the plea of forty-nine prominent Protestant and Catholic clergymen that Congress take steps to make possible the entrance, outside the present quota limits, of German refugee children. Great Britain, Holland, and various other European countries have already given hospitality to thousands. America can well afford to admit from 10,000 to 20,000 of these innocent victims, especially since funds for their care are assured.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

W PA and Wall Street

WHOOPED on by a large section of the press, the tories in Congress have bravely demonstrated, at the expense of the unemployed, their independence of the President. Disregarding the testimony of Colonel F. C. Harrington, WPA administrator, in support of the budget proposal, disregarding the case for a somewhat larger amount effectively presented by Mr. LaGuardia for the United States Conference of Mayors, the Appropriations Committee recommended the provision of $725,000,000 to carry the WPA through the next five months. This figure was adopted after a debate in which a handful of progressives strove in vain to hold back the reactionary tide.

It is worth noting that for all their boldness the triumphant tories took certain precautions. The original suggestion of Mr. Woodrum, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, that $500,000,000 would be ample was conveniently forgotten after it had served the purpose of establishing its author as a stout enemy of extravagance. Careful measures were also adopted to insure that no record vote was taken on the cut. A good many of the economizers found their courage unequal to letting their constituents know what they were up to. As a final attempt to cover up, the story is being assiduously circulated that Mr. Roosevelt purposely inflated his estimate knowing that Congres would reduce it and thus incur the odium of a reduction in WPA rolls which was in any case inevitable.

The weak point about this yarn is that, as *The Nation* pointed out last week, the President's request for $875,000,000 was too meager rather than too generous. The substituted figure, as the Appropriations Committee itself reported, means an average of 2,377,000 on the rolls in the five-month period. The committee suggested that the present number, which is around 3,000,000, could be brought down to 2,800,000 in February and the load progressively reduced to 2,000,000 by June. It failed to inquire whether in this period private industry was likely to produce a million new jobs, contenting itself with a WPA estimate that this possibility existed.

It is worth noting that in the past six months, while industrial production has been rapidly mounting, only a million workers have been reemployed in private industry. Moreover, the tempo of recovery shows signs of lagging. The proposed sharp reduction in WPA expenditure will quickly make itself felt and will serve as a new brake. It is significant that, despite the ideological support Wall Street gives to federal economy, the Stock Exchange signalized the emergence of a Congressional revolt against the budget by a pronounced slump. We fear that on this occasion the market's claim to be a reliable barometer may prove well founded.

Mussolini Stands Pat

AS FAR as anyone has been able to discover, Prime Minister Chamberlain accomplished nothing during his visit to Rome. For this the world can be profoundly thankful. Chamberlain's failures, as opposed to such successes as Munich, have the merit of at least delaying the disintegration of Europe. Since Chamberlain has claimed no gain for peace from his meeting with Mussolini, it is reasonable to suppose that he gave nothing of vital importance away. Another milestone has been passed apparently without the granting of belligerent rights to the Spanish Insurgents. This important result was achieved, we happen to know, not because Chamberlain has modified his appeasement policy, but because his plans to make this concession were blocked by the pressure of public opinion in London and Paris.

Although he failed to gain a victory of Berchtesgaden-Munich proportions, Mussolini doubtless looks back upon the Rome conversations with considerable satisfaction. He made no promises regarding Tunisia or his other demands upon France. Plans are reported to have been drawn up after the conference to give Italy free port privileges in Djibouti and Zeila, the one in French, the other in British Somaliland. Talk of a British loan to Italy, either directly, or indirectly through a loan to Franco, has been revived. But Mussolini's primary victory was scored with respect to Spain. Chamberlain apparently brought no pressure on Mussolini to compel him to live up to the sections in the Anglo-Italian pact on the withdrawal of Italian troops. Moreover, Il Duce completely outmaneuvered France in threatening serious complications if French help were sent to the Loyalists. Thus Mussolini has obtained Chamberlain's tacit approval of a situation in which Italy, and Italy alone, is privileged to intervene in the Spanish civil war.

This fact, coupled with the loss of Tarragona, places the Spanish government in a most perilous position. The Loyalists are desperately in need of munitions to counteract the steady flow of material help to Franco. Without such aid, the best that can be hoped for is a long back-to-the-wall struggle ending in final defeat. France is in a position to furnish this aid promptly and effectively, but it is unlikely to do so as long as the present government remains in power. The Soviet Union is far away, and has heavy commitments to China. The United States, like France, seems to have given hostages to Chamberlain, and more especially to the Catholic church. The democratic world will have its eyes fixed anxiously on Catalonia during the coming weeks. But the fate of Spain will not be determined in Barcelona, where the Spanish government is doing all that is humanly possible, but in Paris and Washington, where popular will is at the moment being thwarted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Catholic Church and "The Nation"

DEAR SIRS: In your issue of January 7 you cite on your annual "honor roll," as you qaintly describe it, "The Editors of the *Commonweal,* Catholic weekly, for giving expression to the democratic loyalties of rank-and-file American Catholics." As one whose name appears on the editorial page of the *Commonweal,* as its founder, and now as its "special editor" although no longer actively associated with its direction, I must promptly and firmly decline what you no doubt quite sincerely deem to be an honor, and request you, in the interest of fair journalism, to acquaint your readers with that fact by publishing this letter.

My main reason is the conclusion I feel compelled to draw after studying what you say about the *Commonweal,* the Catholic church, and the hierarchy of the church in the same number of *The Nation.* These remarks, to which I shall allude below, are similar in import to many others which you have published at other times. They seem to me to bear concurrent and consistent evidence of a policy which *The Nation* and other "left-wing" publications, organizations, and individuals, notably the Communists but including also those who without being members of that party are nevertheless willing to be allied with its policy, are now acting upon: namely, to do all you possibly can to separate American lay Catholics from their bishops. The latter, which means the church itself, for without the bishops there could be no such entity as the Catholic church, you condemn in season and out. You insinuate and assert that they, and as a consequence the church, are "reactionary," anti-democratic, allied with fascism. For example, on page 25, in your editorial, Father Coughlin and the Church, you say: "Mr. Roosevelt is the only one among the statesmen of the West to raise his voice firmly against Hitlerism, a movement profoundly anti-Catholic and anti-Christian, yet it is no secret that most of the American Catholic hierarchy is opposed to him and did their best in 1936 to spread the impression that he was 'communistic.'" What a wholly preposterous accusation! How could you possibly support it—not to say reasonably prove it, for that would be impossible? Long before President Roosevelt had spoken out against Hitlerism, the Pope, who is a statesman as well as an ecclesiastic, had condemned the root evils of Hitlerism. Are you maintaining that the American hierarchy—so many of whom had spoken out against Hitlerism before Mr. Roosevelt did—don't know or don't care about what the Pope thinks and says about the heresy of racialism and the fundamental wrongness of all forms of the absolute state, or the absolute race, or the absolute party, or class, or church, and are so "reactionary" that they oppose the Pope as well as the President?

In another place in *The Nation,* page 21, in commenting upon the article by the Reverend William C. Kernan you very properly commend its author for offering documentary proof for his assertions that Father Coughlin made gross misstatements of fact in the radio speeches in which, according to you, Father Coughlin "attempted to pin on the Jews the responsibility for communism." As a matter of fact, Father Coughlin did not do that in the speeches I heard; he accused "atheistic Jews" and exempted others. I bear no lance for Father Coughlin's latest speeches, much as I have honored him for his efforts to promote social justice; for I agree with Monsignor Ryan as to the harmfulness of Father Coughlin's methods. And these are the same bad methods which you, the editors of *The Nation,* employ against the Catholic church and its hierarchy, or at least "most of the American Catholic hierarchy," to use your words exactly. You offer no proof, documentary or logical or of any other sort. You appeal to prejudice solely. You spread suspicion and distrust and hatred of the leaders of the Catholic church in this country, while by praising and publicizing individual Catholics, laymen or priests, occasionally even a bishop, for some utterance or other that you approve of, and by constant references to "liberal" or "progressive" or "democratic" Catholic individuals, you do your best—or, rather, your worst—to drive a wedge between the bishops and the leaders, or the masses, of the laity. If a bishop says or does something that seems to you opposed to the common good in government, in social relations, or in cultural concerns—or a group of bishops, or all the bishops—of course you as journalists should say so, and attack what is said or done. But you should offer documentary or readily accessible evidence or proof of your statements. You should not offer mere suppositions if you expect to be considered jounalists acting up to what ought to be the canons of honor and responsibility of a free press, and therefore entitled to dispense honors in journalism to others. I for one do not believe that in your treatment of the bishops of my church you have observed the canons of honorable journalism. I may add that few journalists now practicing in this country, whether they are Catholics or not, no matter what religious belief, if any, they may hold, have more often publicly written and spoken in opposition to Hitlerism and all other forms of government or philosophy which deny human liberty than myself. I don't say that I have exerted much influence—Catholic journalists generally don't; but for what it was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worth I spoke out my conviction, which was taught to me by my church, specifically by those who are teachers in my church, the bishops, and more specifically by the bishops in my own country, the United States. I know, if *The Nation* does not, what the doctrinal instructions of all our bishops from Carroll on have taught American citizens. So do American Catholics generally. So do an ever-increasing number of American non-Catholic citizens. I advise *The Nation* to give up tactics which have failed during twenty centuries and show no signs of permanent success; although, as in Mexico, Spain, Austria, and elsewhere, they may cause temporary trouble and spill innocent blood.

Westport, Conn., January 9 MICHAEL WILLIAMS

We are pleased to print the foregoing letter from Michael Williams because it affords us the opportunity of setting forth our attitude toward the role of the Catholic church in social and political affairs.

Chief among Mr. Williams's accusations is the charge that we are trying to "separate American lay Catholics from their bishops," that is, from the church itself. It seems to us that when high Catholic officials make statements or take actions which we consider it our function to oppose, three alternatives are open to us: First, we can maintain a complete silence, on the theory that in this way religious dissension may be avoided. Mr. Williams is too honest a journalist to overlook the cowardice and the dangers in such a course. Or, second, we can condemn the church as a whole and Catholicism generally because the policies laid down by certain bishops and priests seem to us to be a disservice to democracy and an invitation to fascism. This kind of all-or-nothing treatment we consider sheer poison. It is of a piece with the anti-Semitism which condemns all Jews because those who are not positively "bad" are guilty of failing to suppress those who are. We oppose this totalitarian approach precisely because we are not anti-Catholic.

What course, then, is left to us but this: to distinguish between those Catholic officials and laymen whom we consider to be enemies of democracy and those who are its defenders, to condemn specific offenses, while making it clear beyond doubt that we are not attacking the body of Catholic laity or the church as a religious institution?

Yet it is exactly this policy that Mr. Williams condemns as cunningly designed to "drive a wedge" between the bishops and the laity. With something less than Christian charity he suspects that any tribute we pay to a Catholic is a devious maneuver, and he doesn't like the way we refer to this or that Catholic as "progressive" or "liberal" or "democratic." What bothers him is the application of these words to "Catholic individuals" rather than to the church as a whole. Here again he would have us make a total approach. He can't believe that we honestly think the *Commonweal* has done a conspicuous service to democracy in 1938 while the Catholic church, working through its bishops, has not.

Mr. Williams feels that we have been unfair to the bishops of his church. The Pope, he says condemned Hitlerism even before President Roosevelt lifted his voice against the recent pogroms, and he wants to know whether we believe the "American hierarchy" to be so reactionary that it opposes the Pope. We believe that the Pope's stand on racism has been magnificent (we said so in the very editorial which Mr. Williams cites), and we know that many Catholic prelates have been as outspoken in their condemnation of the Nazis as he has. But need we point out to Mr. Williams that bishop after bishop, priest after priest, has used the persecution of minorities in Germany as a basis for making the most calculatingly fraudulent comparison in recent history—that false and unscrupulous parallel between the fate of the Jews in Germany and that of the Catholics in Spain? Here is one of those gargantuan distortions which seem so obviously false that no one bothers to straighten them out until they have an unbreakable hold on the public mind. Germany is a country at peace; Spain is a country in the midst of war. In Germany the Jews are persecuted and put to death solely because by chance of birth they are Jews, regardless of their political or religious beliefs; in Spain Catholics are persecuted by other Catholics because they are ranged on opposite sides in a social and political struggle. There are priests on both sides, and if those who are on the side of the insurgents are treated just as all other avowed enemies are treated in war time, it may be pointed out that devout Catholic Basques —priests as well as laymen—are not treated otherwise by the forces of General Franco. Yet it is on the basis of such deceptive comparisons that the Catholic church is waging the fight to maintain the Spanish embargo discussed elsewhere in these pages.

When Mr. Williams accuses us of bishop-baiting, let him recall Cardinal O'Connell's defense of fascism as a "wall of defense" against communism in Europe; let him remember also that worthy's bland justification of Franco's terroristic bombing of Barcelona; let him explain the scurrilous insolence with which Archbishop Curley rejected an invitation to visit Loyalist Spain as "base fraudulent trickery" and an invitation to murder; and finally let him explain why the superiors of the noisome Coughlin permit him to preach race hate as a priest of the Catholic church. The list could be sadly lengthened.

We fully believe Mr. Williams when he tells us that he learned from the church the doctrines of freedom and human dignity which he preaches. But there are many ministers of his church who, if they learned those doctrines, certainly do not preach them. These we regard as enemies of everything we value, and, cloth or no cloth, we intend to go on fighting them.—EDITORS THE NATION.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Happened at Lima

BY HUBERT HERRING

Lima, Peru, January 1

THE Eighth Pan-American Conference has adjourned; the delegates from the twenty-one free and sovereign republics have packed and departed; the halls of the Peruvian Congress can again be closed to gather dust—as they have been closed during the past three years of President Benavides's rule; and the bystander can now pause and ask exactly what happened at Lima in December, 1938.

The obvious answer is: Not much. To which the rejoinder is: What did you expect? As a matter of fact, a lot of people in the United States expected a great deal. They had been fed scare stories about the Germans and the Japs, they had listened to Mr. Roosevelt's proposals for continental solidarity, and they half-expected that when the representatives of twenty-one republics assembled in Lima the Latin Americans would put their trembling fingers in the great firm hand of Uncle Sam, and then with one accord all Americans would say big brave words to the Führer, the Duce, and the Son of Heaven. The conference was overadvertised.

Inter-American conferences belong in the realm of faith. Ever since Simon Bolivar first brooded upon his vision of an American Continental Congress, there has been no lack of other dreamers who would resolve the dislikes and the suspicions of the New World around the conference table. If Bolivar's Panama conference in 1826 did nothing more than lift a new banner, it at least served that purpose. So, indeed, have the eight pan-American conferences which have met at various intervals since 1889.

The importance attached to the recent conference in Lima by the different nations is indicated by the caliber of the delegates which they sent to represent them. Some nations deliberately played up the conference by sending strong delegations, representative of the best thought of their respective countries. This was true of Chile, Mexico, Colombia, and of some of the lesser republics. It was true of Brazil, whose delegation was headed by the able Mello Franco. Some did not do so well. It was noticeable that Argentina's delegation was quite undistinguished.

To judge from the speeches made by Messrs. Roosevelt, Hull, and Welles, the United States took Lima very seriously and expected great things from it. But no sober witness would know it from Mr. Roosevelt's selections for the American delegation. The members were seemingly picked to convince the American electorate. Mr. Alf Landon of Kansas was on hand, a little hazy on Latin American affairs but pleasant, and delighted to read the little speeches which others wrote for him. Professor Charles G. Fenwick, teacher of international law at Bryn Mawr, had done good work at Buenos Aires and was reappointed, to the gratification of his fellow-Catholics and to the joy of believers in concord. The Reverend Mr. O'Hara, president of a Catholic college, furnished further cheer to American Catholics and was given a continuous ovation by the Peruvian hierarchy. All agreed that Mr. O'Hara was an agreeable man, even though some suggested in hotel lobbies that Roman Catholicism had better be wary in urging uniformed churchmen upon official American delegations. Labor was present, with Dan Tracy of the Electricians to represent the A. F. of L., and Kathryn Lewis to represent her father and the C. I. O. American women were represented by Mrs. Musser of Utah. Puerto Rico furnished a member of its Supreme Court, Justice Toro. The State Department furnished a couple of diplomats and a lawyer—also the Assistant Secretary of State, Adolf A. Berle, whose precocity sometimes outruns his perspicacity. The delegation was headed by Cordell Hull, who has done rather more for Pan-Americanism than any other of our statesmen. It was a notably weak delegation, despite the excellent work of Mr. Hull and several of his aides in the State Department.

The chief problem in inter-American cooperation is the relation of the United States to Argentina. Mr. Hull had already done yeoman service in persuading the former Argentine Foreign Minister, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, to play with the United States. In fact, some thought the Secretary of State overpatient in dealing with the matchless Mr. Saavedra Lamas. Thanks to Mr. Hull, the Argentine statesman had won his coveted peace treaty at Montevideo, had been given a free hand in arranging terms in the Chaco war, and at last had been awarded the Nobel peace prize. Even these favors had not persuaded Saavedra Lamas of the desirability of committing Argentine interests to the safekeeping of Washington. This was abundantly evident at Buenos Aires, where he succeeded in wrecking Mr. Hull's finely wrought plan for an inter-American consultative committee.

The agenda at Lima presented many items. But for the United States there was but one goal: Washington hoped for some new assurance that no matter what might happen in the world the Western Hemisphere would stick together against impending confusion. Some gains had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been made in the two preceding conferences. At Montevideo the peace pacts had won wider adherence, the reciprocal trade treaties had been given some impetus, and a half-hearted declaration against intervention had been accepted. At Buenos Aires the consultative principle had been launched and gingerly accepted, the pledge against intervention had been strengthened, and a treaty consolidating the peace measures had been adopted. What, then, would come out of Lima? The ambitions of the United States were clear. Washington hoped that the republics of the New World might rouse themselves to the defense of their sovereignty and send a joint warning to the Old World, and that they might strengthen their regional peace machinery.

But at Lima the United States again came into head-on collision with Argentina. And Argentina had the support of some of its neighbors. The reasons for Argentina's recalcitrance are various. First, its economic ties are with Great Britain. Britain has more than two billion dollars invested in Argentina; the United States not more than $700,000,000. Britain buys Argentina's meats and grains; the United States cannot buy them. Some 95 per cent of Argentina's exports are agricultural products, which means that its market is and must be Europe. Argentina will make no commitments which will block trade in time of war. Second, there are psychological forces which hold Argentina back from regional American understandings. One-third of the population is Italian —and those Italians are entering no league directed against their mother country. Third, Argentines give considerable loyalty to the League of Nations, and are proud to have been active in its counsels. Fourth, they feel considerable jealousy and suspicion of the United States. Argentina and the United States are much alike. Argentina is ambitious, resourceful; it has an eye on expansion; it proposes to be the leader of South America, and it resents any proposal which would give the United States a position of leadership. Fifth, Argentina shares the general sense of uncertainty. With war and rumors of war in many parts of the world, it is wary of commitments. It will sign no blank checks. These are among the possible explanations of Argentina's attitude. That British interest, jealous for economic position, or Nazi or Fascist influence was behind it is an unlikely hypothesis.

Brazil, traditionally an ally of the United States, sided with Argentina at Lima. The explanation for this defection is more difficult. In fact, no satisfactory explanation has been found. Of course, President Vargas has established a kind of corporative state, on lines similar to Germany and Italy. Furthermore, Brazil's stake in trade with Germany is growing rapidly. And it is possible that there was definite Nazi influence behind certain Brazilian delegates. This was much discussed at Lima.

Whatever may have been the exact line of Argentina and Brazil, it was abundantly clear that almost all the South Americans felt that the United States overplayed the "menace" of armed attack. Nowhere, except perhaps in Brazil, is there any apprehension. Therefore, when the United States made its bid for more precise consultative machinery and more specific guaranties of solidarity, it faced many varieties of opposition. The final compromise, beaten out after hours of stiff debate behind closed doors, was the Declaration of Lima, one of those glittering documents which mean no more and no less than the several signatories mean.

It starts off with a pious apostrophe which stirs to vulgar laughter: "Considering . . . that the peoples of America have achieved spiritual unity . . . their unshakable will to peace . . . their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance . . . their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of the equal sovereignty of states. . . ." And so on. Decency bars footnotes. Then follows the declaration, reaffirming "continental solidarity and their purpose to collaborate in the maintenance of the principles upon which the said solidarity is based." Then comes the decision to defend these principles "against all foreign intervention or activity that may threaten them"; then the promise to make common cause, using the machinery of consultation, but "it is understood that the governments of the American republics will act independently in their individual capacity." Yes, we will all play together, but each will make his own rules. That is the highly advertised Declaration of Lima. The cynic may overdo his scoffing. No matter how empty the statement may be, it was probably worth making. It at least laid the groundwork for later agreements.

Of course, many other things happened at Lima. There was the barbed resolution proposed by the Cubans under which the American republics would have expressly repudiated "all persecution of a collective character because of racial or religious motives." This aroused Brazil, Argentina, and others to protest. They would not call Hitler names—naturally enough, for trade is precious. In heated sessions behind closed doors the North Americans and others argued for the resolution, while the charming Brazilian spokesman, Mrs. Rosalina Müller, made slashing attacks upon it. The result was a delightful compromise in words which said little, but which prevented an open break which might have wrecked the conference.

And there was the battle of the women. For years Miss Doris Stevens had fought to win acceptance of conventions guaranteeing equality to women. These conventions represented the Woman's Party point of view and contemplated the end of all special protective legislation for women. At Lima the American delegation, through one of its auxiliary members, Mrs. Quincy Wright, arranged a campaign to eliminate Miss Stevens and her committee. This was done in a resolution which praised women's rights while at the same time safeguard-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the position of those who believe in special legislation.

It would be easy to dismiss the Lima conference as a profitless waste of time and money. Not so fast. In spite of the endless futile talk, there is solid value in a meeting of the representatives of twenty-one nations. They may not understand each other; they may jockey for position; they may indulge in silly speech-making. But a solid residue remains of progress in understanding and of new appreciation. That is the justification for the Pan-American Conference at Lima.

Must Democracy Use Force?

I. PACIFISM MEANS SUICIDE

BY AUREL KOLNAI

EVERYONE who observed closely the evolution of public opinion in Western Europe, particularly in France, during the Czechoslovak crisis will agree that the pressure exercised by the pro-fascist right in favor of surrender would have failed its effect had it not been for the powerful support of left-wing pacifism in its divers varieties. The teachers and other radical intellectuals who were urging the government to avert war at any possible cost (meaning at any cost), the "Committee of Anti-Fascist Vigilance" which declared it preposterous to wage war in order to preserve an "absurd" state like Czechoslovakia, the Socialist leaders who preferred being called agents of Hitler to being "promoters of war" and who "refused to choose between war and servitude"—all these worked more effectively in favor of capitulation than the plutocratic press and its financial backers.

It is of the utmost importance to give this fact due appreciation if we are still unwilling to acquiesce in fascist world hegemony, or are at least desirous of a clear understanding of the factors which bring about its realization. It is not true that "world capitalism" as such engenders world fascism and makes it possible for the fascist powers to subjugate the earth; the truth is that pacifism has every claim to be recognized as an autonomous force in the service of this object. The surrender of democracy does not in any way mean simply that the bourgeoisie abandons democracy to check the emancipation of labor; it also means that the democrats abandon democracy to avert war. The murder of democracy is grafted, as it were, on the suicide of democracy.

Of the manifold aspects of this process I shall point out a few which to me seem particularly obvious and characteristic. We may call them the fetish of peace in general, the belief in the absolute evilness and senselessness of war, the identification of war and fascism, the bogy of "ideological war," the indifference to power on the international plane, and the pseudo-idealistic or pseudo-humanitarian refusal to take account of unpleasant realities. Most of these motives are of "left" origin; an unscrupulous pro-fascist right is only able to exploit them for its own aims because left humanitarianism has largely tinged public opinion in the democratic civilizations far beyond the pales of the actual "left." Reaction mobilizes the unpolitical, inert masses for its own aims—and on grounds largely borrowed from progressive thought. To some of us this may sound very "dialectical." Nevertheless, it is true.

The accusation of being a "war-monger" makes every one of us pale. It disarms all resistance. "Are you, after all, in favor of war?" "Would you, then, have preferred war?" "Are you sorry that peace has been saved? Surely not!" The answer is invariably surrender, express or tacit. It is this interior surrender to the pacifist which guarantees our outward surrender to the fascist. We are also taught to believe unreflectively that "war is never inevitable," that it is always worth while to "save peace in the last moment," that there is no situation in which "negotiations" cannot help. Although the formula "peace at any price" is usually disliked and frequently disclaimed, it is practically the maxim of our conduct. There is no trace of material difference between it and the principle that war is never inevitable. There is, of course, a great psychological difference, which consists in the fact that the so-called radical pacifist has the courage to say honestly what he means, whereas the pacifism under which we are thriving so cheerfully takes great pains to obscure its real significance and to goad us into a false consciousness of having preserved our "honor" and our interests. We are certainly very far from being genuine "idealists," however mistaken; unlike the martyrs of outspoken pacifism, we stumble over the precipice —not war, but destruction without war—like undignified dupes. We have not made up our minds that we shall not resist evil; our faith is that it need not be resisted because, after all, it does not exist. Thus we succumb, not in sacrifice which transcends egoism, but in sheer dishonor and dishonesty, which are morally inferior even to naked egoism.

Herein lies what is most tragic in our annihilation:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the moral surrender that completes political surrender, the relative justification which fascism draws from our behavior. The present writer is the last to affirm that no cause is intrinsically good or bad, and that the main thing is whether one stands for a cause keenly, whatever it be; but there is an element of incontestable superiority in standing for something, however evil and barbarous, in comparison with such as are unable to stand for anything. The aggressor despots pursue their objects; they are determined to get what they want. They do not stoop to the imbecile theory that war is a naughty pastime from which well-behaved little statesmen should always refrain; they do not take refuge in the anodyne fiction that war is the result of a deplorable misunderstanding between different groups of respectable liberal citizens which can surely be cleared up before they come to blows. Their government is as savage as it is vile; but, as Mussolini once put it, it is government. The democracies, on the other hand, lead their people not to defeat but to collapse without fighting. In a word, it is not war but peace which seals the doom of liberal civilization.

Day after day it is dinned into our ear that war is the worst of evils, and that to maintain peace must be the supreme aim of our policy. Nonsense; for apart from other objections war and peace do not designate integral conceptions but merely two opposite conditions of society; they are highly important and differ greatly in their desirability, but they do not imply ultimate good or ultimate evil. We could as well believe that it should be the supreme aim in individual life to avoid surgical operations; or that, whatever may happen, men ought never more to jail their fellow-men. It is urged that "war settles nothing"; that ineluctably "war breeds evil"; that whatever the issue may be, "war knows no victors, only losers." The truth, however, is that war has settled many problems in history, as far as there can be such a thing as "final" settlement; that if war breeds evil, peaceful capitulation may—particularly in situations like the present one—breed much fouler evil and in a more definitive way; that if the cause of justice does not always triumph in war, the cause of injustice always triumphs in peace, provided that the men who wield it are determined to war while their antagonists have given clear proof that they are not; that—one is ashamed to insist on such a truism, but unfortunately there is need for it—it does make an enormous difference who wins and who loses the war. The fact that the victorious side also suffers severely in no way impairs the validity of this primitive and self-evident truth. Most of us who are not "litigious-minded" can think of very much more intense and noble pleasures than the one derived from a successful lawsuit. Still, sometimes the only possible course is to engage in one, and to try to come out "victorious."

Then, of course, we are stunned with phrases like these —they are also more or less obligatory in decent society now: "War breeds fascism"; "War and fascism are children of the same spirit"; "We cannot fight an evil by turning its own weapons against it"; "We shall become like them if we fight them." The answer is that we are indeed on the way to becoming like them, not because we fight them but because we do not fight them. The answer is, further, that it is the hallmark of civilized man, not that he is unable to use barbarous weapons, but that he is able to use them in a restrained, governable, exterior, and transitory fashion. If this be impossible, then civilization is impossible except as a momentary whim of nature. If the humanitarian is really bound to be at the mercy of the barbarian, then barbarism is the inescapable law of human life. Or rather I should say it is the invariable characteristic of humanity; for I should call a man who is permeated with automatic mansuetude and unable to differentiate his reactions according to circumstance, to differentiate between his general trend and the temporary exercise of faculties less in tune with his intrinsic ideal of life, as barbarous as a man given over to the lust of cruelty and domination.

Pacifism is only barbarism turned inside out. Its outlook is not only unpractical but degrading; it lays the stress on sweet and sympathetic "states of mind" rather than on moral personality endowed with consciousness, willpower, and responsibility. It is basically fatalistic and mechanistic; thus it accounts for fascism as a "result" of the condition of war. As it happens, none of the existing fascist dictatorships, especially the chief ones, have been born of war; inasmuch as they express from the outset a determination to warlike expansion and the preparation of its means, the primary thing is spiritual decision in this sense and certainly not the technical "exigencies" of war. On the other hand, the Spanish republic has shown no sign as yet of turning fascist, although in fighting against the fascist invader it is certainly subject to the direst technical "necessities" of war. Spain will become fascist, no doubt, when its conquest by the fascist armies will be completed—for it does make a slight difference who "wins" and who "loses" the war. Finally, the assertion that war and fascism spring from the same mentality is pointless, for fascism is a conception of politico-social order while war is an event or condition in society. The insane idea that war is a magnificent condensation and culmination of life or that men at their highest are "essentially soldiers" is indeed pertinent to the fascist spirit; but war as such is not.

"Ideological war" is often considered a peculiarly naughty and indecent thing even by people who are enthusiastic for democracy and against fascism. "Imperialism" and "intervention" of any kind appear to be essentially bad. The fascists, it is true, do not wholly share this opinion; but so much the worse for them.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not a few socialists profess this view, although they do not condemn civil war. This differentiation in their attitude throws a curious light on their internationalism: it seems that the fascists, better than they, have grasped the reality of interdependence among nations and the interrelation between domestic and foreign policy. Yet a correct revolutionist is above all anxious lest he be suspected of "patriotism" and conniving at "home imperialism." The best way to fight German and Italian fascists, he thinks, is to fight British, French, or American capitalists. He is unwilling to realize that if international capitalism today is more or less subservient to fascism, fascism is certainly the more concentrated, more self-subsistent, and more venomous reality of the two, and not at all a mere function or figurehead of capitalism. Nor will the orthodox "leftist" ever accept the sacrilegious idea that there may be a reason why some nations rather than others embark—for a longer or shorter period in history—on anti-humanitarian adventures.

Again, less revolutionary politicians and journalists never tire of assuring us that "totalitarian" and "democratic" states may quite happily and peacefully live side by side with each other. We must wait patiently till the "totalitarians," in their turn, shall equally have appropriated this simple and comfortable truth. Apart from other snags in this argument, it is to be feared that before the "totalitarians" have come to understand the aforesaid truth, no "other side" will be left for peaceful companionship. For the fascists do believe in their faith, and show little disposition to accord an equal footing to a radically hostile faith, the negation of which has been the wellspring and the charter of their very existence. Moreover, their faith happens to inclose the imperative of limitless expansion and relentless increase of power.

We, on the other hand, are hugging the complacent belief that the essence of democracy is compromise; so we book "compromise" with the fascists, of the Munich type for instance, as a triumph not only of peace but even of democracy. We only forget that there is a marked difference between compromise within democracy, which presupposes the common ground of democracy accepted by all the various competing groups of the people, and compromise with the convinced and uncompromising mortal enemies of democracy. We are extremely afraid of tarnishing the immaculate beauty of our democracy by any use of violence or display of intolerance; not, however, of compromising democracy in its integrity.

[*Mr. Kolnai's article represents the extreme anti-pacifist position in a symposium of views on the question of the necessity of force in the preservation of democracy. What might be described as a centrist view will be advanced in our next issue by Reinhold Niebuhr, to be followed by the arguments for peace at any price as expounded by Bertrand Russell.*]

Three Southern Towns

III. KINGSPORT: THEY PLANNED IT

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

MOST Southern towns just grew, but in the Tennessee Valley is a town that is supposed to show you what American business can do when it turns its hand to civic planning. Kingsport, Tennessee, was "deliberately planned for a city of industrial efficiency, civic beauty, and human happiness."

The quotation is from "Kingsport, a Romance of Industry," first published in 1928 and still to be had in abridged form from the Kingsport boosters. The book contains affecting stories of how the romance began. One tells of a visiting financier who expressed curiosity about how the sunbonneted women in the nearby hills made a living. His local informant admitted that this was a problem, but said they might learn to make hosiery, whereupon "the financier was silent for a time, studying. Then the gracious, big-hearted man replied, 'Meet me at eight o'clock in the morning and we will select the site for the hosiery mill.' "

In another tale the visitor is taken to a little school in the hills, and the assembled Anglo-Saxon children are told that this great man from the East has it in his mind to build a big factory that will bring the blessings of prosperity to Kingsport. A little boy stands up and says, "Please, mister, build your plant here." So the plant was built. This second story was repeated last summer in the *Saturday Evening Post,* and therefore must be true. It is undisputed that Yankee industry came to Kingsport because of eager, tow-headed boys and women willing to work. Or, in the words of a report to the Labor Board, "One of the chief inducements held out . . . in securing these industries was the plentiful supply of cheap labor." In telling of Kingsport's origins, the report says:

> A certain New York banker named Dennis, with railroad and other interests in northeast Tennessee, conceived the idea of building an industrial city in this section of the country. He enlisted the services of one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

J. Fred Johnson, then a small merchant in Kingsport, which was at that time but a hamlet. Johnson turned out to be a man of unusual vision and salesmanship and soon became and still remains a kind of patron saint of the community.

Dennis, Johnson, and associates formed a corporation called the Kingsport Improvement Company, which purchased practically all the land in what is now the incorporated limits of the city; and beginning in the year 1917 started a real-estate development which resulted in attracting several large manufacturing establishments from the North. . . .

The city fathers have always made much of their planning; planning is all right if the right people do it. In December, 1937, the *Nation's Business* published an article explaining in detail that Kingsport was a "yardstick" of good planning, by private enterprise, while Norris was an example of bad planning by the government. As the boosters would put it, at the birth of the little city all the good fairies of industry presided. The happy parents were the Clinchfield Railroad and the land company; the fairy godparents were the Eastman Company, the Corning Glass Company, and the Kingsport Press of New York, the Borden and the Holliston mills of Massachusetts, the Mead Fiber Company of Ohio, and the Pennsylvania-Dixie Cement Corporation. Deliberate planning for industrial efficiency meant that these industries were linked together. The paper and cloth used for books turned out by the Kingsport Press are manufactured in Kingsport; the paper mill gets its wood pulp from the Eastman plant, and so on. For the industries the advantage is obvious. For the town the idea is that there shall be no dependence on one employer, as at Tupelo, or even on one industry, as at Huntsville.

As for civic beauty, private enterprise can do well enough with physical planning as long as it is willing to spend money. At Kingsport the money lasted until there had been produced a handsome common with red-brick colonial buildings reminiscent of New England or Virginia, a wide main street, and even an artistic filling station. Civic administration was also carefully planned, with a charter examined and amended by the Bureau of Municipal Research of the Rockefeller Foundation. Could anything more be done to insure that third consideration of the planners, human happiness?

You wouldn't think so to read about beautiful Kingsport or even to look at it if you didn't wander too far from the Inn or Watauga Street, where the well-to-do people live. Of course the Kingsport industries built model houses for their employees; you can read about a Borden mill village where the houses have bathtubs. In 1928 there were sixty-two houses in two Eastman villages —at that time 422 persons were employed in the Eastman plant. Afterward the number of employees grew to five thousand, and of course the owners built a beautiful new plant. They didn't, though, build a new town.

Where do the workers live? In theory they are healthfully established all over the neighboring countryside, on their own little farms, from which they drive to work in their own cars. Actually many of them live crowded together on Long Island in the Holston River, which the early settlers of Kingsport foolishly took away from the Indians. No self-respecting Indian would live there now. But plenty of Kingsport workers do; the island is built over with shacks that would do no credit to a cotton plantation, although they rent for $10 a month. They are worse than plantation shacks to live in, because they are jammed so close together and there are no sewers on the island. The healthful combination of rural and industrial life in this part of Kingsport means that you have rural sanitation with city crowding, and the real miracle is that there has been no typhoid epidemic.

Long Island folk are not pampered with fancy public buildings, either. The beautiful brick churches on the common are for those who live on Watauga Street; if the Long Island people want a church they will have to build one. Their school is a little shack so crowded that the children attend in three shifts.

What's wrong with the Long Island people? Nothing at all. But you remember that low wages were one of the industrial attractions of Kingsport. Of course the Kingsport Press has to pay some skilled workmen, though they can't expect to make what printers get up North; and the Eastman plant has to have technicians for the *Ersatz* articles it makes out of wood pulp. But the cotton mill, until the wage-hour law went into effect, had the usual $5-to-$15 Southern scale, and plenty of people in the other industries were at that wage level. They couldn't pay much over $10 a month for a house, and so they lived on Long Island.

You don't have much luck buying your own little home, in Kingsport. Of course with the real-estate company behind the town, and brick and cement and lumber among the local products, the authorities would like to see the workers invest and therefore they arrange loans and mortgages; but it always seems to work out that families trying to buy a house end by losing it. Even in Kingsport employment is irregular.

You can't expect, of course, to take the blessings of industry and reject any little discomforts that come, too, such as the pall of cement dust that hangs over Kingsport within a wide radius of the cement works, or the pollution of the Holston River by chemicals dumped by the Eastman plant. These things go along with being what the Labor Board report calls "perhaps the most completely integrated industrial community in America."

If you wonder how the Labor Board came to get a report on this industrial paradise, it must be whispered that there was actually a strike in Kingsport two years ago, in the silk mill that is closed now, and last year the T. W. O. C. called for a hearing on the cotton mill. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complaints were, as usual, intimidation and discharge of workers joining the union, efforts to foster a company union, and so on. But the NLRB examiner considered that the peculiar local conditions had a bearing on the case. He noted that instead of the familiar political bosses, Kingsport had an "oligarchy composed of the 'founding fathers' " working with the industrialists:

> Practically all real estate has been sold by the Kingsport Improvement Company, with suitable restrictions and strict selection to preserve unity and cooperation in the industrial development conceived by the "founding fathers" aforesaid, so that the latter have exercised at all times, and continue to exercise by this and other means, a very real, if not apparent, control of the government and its affairs.

To show how this works out, the Mayor of Kingsport at the time of the hearing was plant superintendent at the cotton mill. Cooperation of this kind is found everywhere, of course, but the careful industrial planning in Kingsport makes it easier to attain. J. Fred Johnson runs Kingsport just as Rex Reed runs Tupelo; only Mr. Johnson does not act for himself alone but as agent for the coordinated industries.

It is true that in the last election a little upset occurred. It seems that odd things can happen about taxes in Kingsport. Perhaps a piece of land is considered a park and not taxed, until the land company has a good offer for it; but you wouldn't expect back taxes to be collected on it then as commercial property, would you? People aren't fussy about such things in Kingsport, but they did get to watching poll taxes, as Southern minorities do, and in the last election a local lawyer who opposed the oligarchy of the founding fathers bought radio time outside the town and told what he found out. So they elected a sheriff that didn't belong, instead of the paper-mill man who was slated for the job. The sheriff's office could stand a little reform because it had had as many as seventy-eight deputies sworn in at one time. But it will take more than one election victory to change Kingsport. With everything owned up North the way it is, about the only hope lies in the intervention of the national government.

Kingsport is probably no worse than many other industrial towns over the country; what lays it open to criticism is its own claim to be a "yardstick." It sets itself up as the industrial ideal; and if it is, there can be but one answer. On a tent in a shanty section where a revival meeting was being held one of the less prosperous citizens of Kingsport lettered this excellent advice: "Ye Must Be Borned Again."

[*This is the last of a series of three articles designed to show parallel lines of development in the South of today. The other two, which appeared in the issues of December 31 and January 7, dealt respectively with Tupelo, Mississippi, as an example of a feudal town, and Huntsville, Alabama, as a Northern-owned company town.*]

Asia for the Japanese

BY ERNEST O. HAUSER

THE present phase of the Far Eastern war is marked by the incompatibility of two principles—the Open Door and the New Order in Asia. In this conflict Japan does not have to face the armed resistance of Chinese soldiers. It has to turn around to face the violent reaction of Western powers, chiefly the United States and Great Britain, rallying in an eleventh-hour effort to save what is left of their positions in China.

Despite Japanese assertions that the principle of a New Order does not necessarily conflict with foreign vested rights and privileges in China, the ideas behind this principle preclude a compromise. At the bottom of the New Order is the ambitious scheme of an East Asiatic bloc. A study of the political, economic, and cultural facets of this scheme is necessary for an appraisal of Western opportunities in the countries of this bloc.

China, from the Japanese point of view, has been a semi-colonial area, subject to various degrees of exploitation by foreign interests. Technically speaking, this is correct. Ever since the Opium War of 1839 Western powers have scrambled for the spoils of the China market, and privilege after privilege was wrung from the numbed imperial government at Peking. Once Japan was successfully vaccinated with the serum of Western imperialism, it joined the scramble and got its share.

The political basis of these privileges remained relatively flimsy. While the imperial powers succeeded in dividing the entire continent of Africa into colonies, their own jealousy prevented them from doing the same to China. Outright sovereignty was not achieved. Except for the tiny British colony of Hongkong, the complicated legal structures of various "concessions," and the privilege of extraterritoriality, the net result of the entire process was influence. And this influence was the chief security obtained for a tremendous outlay in loans and other investments. Great Britain finally emerged with the largest share of influence.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The new China, coming of age under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, looked at the top-heavy edifice of foreign prerogatives with growing apprehension. The semi-colonial status was not willingly accepted. Various diplomatic feelers and authoritative statements on the part of the Chinese government anticipated an early discussion of the problem. There was hope that a frank exchange of opinions among all nations concerned would lead to the abolition of extraterritoriality, and there is little doubt that most of the treaty powers were ready to help China regain its full sovereignty. China, before the outbreak of the war, was on the point of emerging from semi-colonial bondage and becoming a free and powerful nation.

Within less than two years this China has been pushed back into the rough valleys of Szechuan. The puppet governments set up by Japan speak a different language, and discussions with them are hardly likely to succeed. Moreover, the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition, paralleled by similar attitudes of the League powers, prevents diplomatic intercourse with them. What is likely to happen is the monopolization of trade and influence by the Japanese, who wield more actual power in China than any other foreign nation ever did. The pawns and privileges of Western countries, under these circumstances, will become worthless.

But China is devastated and will have to be rebuilt. Reconstruction is expensive. Japan is a poor nation, and the financial losses of this war have brought it to the verge of insolvency. If foreign capital is excluded from the process of reconstruction and development, Japan will have to wait a long time before the conquered country, if, indeed, it will be conquered, can be turned into a profitable enterprise.

This is the point where a compromise with foreign interests suggests itself. Those who rule Japan, with their distrust of orthodox economics and their firm belief in the blessings of totalitarian compulsion, seem to think that Japan could succeed in "colonizing" China even without the assistance of foreign capital. An interesting controversy has developed around this question. Radical elements, especially the army and navy, which are now equally antagonistic toward Great Britain, hold that Western privileges have to be uprooted at once, even if time is lost in developing China's resources.

Moderate elements, particularly the realistic business community and most of the civilian members of the government, think it wiser to appease Western nations by leaving them temporarily in nominal possession of their prerogatives. In return for so much indulgence, their cheerful assistance in various development and reconstruction schemes will be expected. Former Premier Konoye's statement of peace conditions, softly worded, was in line with this program. The idea behind its moderation is hurry: although the present political balance of the world, heavily slanted by the Munich agreement, favors Japan's splendid isolation, a change might occur soon. And Japan wants to have things done in China before that time. A speedy realization of bloc economy requires cash. Thus even radical generals and admirals may be persuaded to tone down their attacks against the West.

It must be borne in mind, however, that this division of opinion concerns a tactical question only. There is full agreement on the principle of wholesale abolition of Western influence. China's semi-colonial status is to be ended, and the new "sovereign" China is to be a member of the East Asia bloc, unconditionally at the mercy of Japan. There will be nothing "semi" about its colonial status. This intention, despite all sugar-coating, excludes equal opportunities (the Open Door) for other nations. If Western powers will be allowed to put up all the money, the Japanese will have all the say. And China's "territorial integrity," the backbone of the Nine-Power Treaty with its Open Door pledge, has become illusory anyway.

Meanwhile an effort is made to fortify the bloc idea with a spiritual program. Inside Japan a new school of thought has arisen which busies itself with the formulation of a cultural policy. Its apostle, Kiyoshi Miki, proclaims as the foremost necessity the creation of a spiritual basis for the bloc. He finds "the spread of right ideas of paramount importance" and speaks, in numerous magazines articles, of the "challenge Japanese culture is confronted with, now that it has started to extend its sphere of influence over the Asiatic continent."

Miki, a young philosopher and writer, is no idle dreamer. The fact that most of the army firebrands are among his followers is proof of the practical implications of his cultural crusade. Miki's slogan, "Japan has to resort to the measure of influencing China by means of ideas," appeals to those elements which believe that communism is the most tangible danger in East Asia. Since China is too big to be watched continuously, the imposition of a positive ideology contrary to communism would come in handy.

In their opinion the ideology of "Nipponism," prevalent among civilian and uniformed fascists within Japan, should be expanded into an Oriental philosophy. General Araki, exponent of Nipponist ideas, in a recent interview with this writer explained that the essence of the "Spirit of Japan" should be applied to the new community of Asiatic nations. This essence is the equality of individuals and their utter insignificance as seen from the top—which is, in Japan, the imperial throne. Japan's totalitarian ideology, in other words, would have to be swallowed by the suavely individualistic Chinese. The fact that the Japanese are ready to add a spoonful of Confucianism ("the common ideological bond") is not likely to make the medicine any sweeter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is significant, in this connection, that General Araki continues as Minister of Education in the new Hiranuma Cabinet. The reorientation of Japan's youth along Asiatic lines is an important task. Toshio Shiratori, one of Japan's most brilliant nationalists, now Ambassador to Italy, told this writer that Japan's own revival was of primary importance within the scheme of an Asiatic confederation, and that careful selection of cultural elements not essentially Japanese was imperative. "We can't, of course, discard our battleships," he added, "just because battleships were not invented in Japan."

While there are realistic and influential people in Japan who disapprove of ideological ballyhoo in connection with the China campaign—their protagonist, Mr. Heisuke Sugiyama, has sprung from the once liberal newspaper *Asahi*—the radicals are likely to be given a free hand. Hence the penetration of conquered China with a totalitarian philosophy, made in Asia but very similar to European brands of fascism, is within reach. Hostility to the democratic ideology with its fundamental respect for the individual is thus to be an outstanding characteristic of the East Asia bloc. Its close relationship with Italy and Germany is likely to be emphasized through an early recognition of "reborn China" by the governments of those countries.

Here is an important step toward the elimination of British, American, and French influence in China. This influence was based to a very large extent on prestige. Japanese propaganda is bent on undermining this prestige. The idea that the world has been unreasonably unicentral and that it should be multicentral draws growing attention in the Japanese press: China, in this new, multicentral world, will be freed from its peripheral position and absorbed by the Asiatic center, the Rising Sun.

Under the impact of its powerful radiation the face of China is changing already. Now, as the guns are becoming silent again, structural changes of first-rate importance emerge from the debris. The pseudo-capitalism which had been created and pampered by Western business interests is disappearing. The compradore class, native go-betweens living on the fat margin of the White Man's going concern, is dying out. The Japanese have no use for them, chiefly because Japanese business is operating without that fat margin, as competition among individual firms is close and quite ruthless. The incipient native capitalism which was growing up independently in China before the war is also faced with extinction as a result of Japanese monopolization. The very groups which were dependent on the White Man, and which in turn furnished the organic link between four hundred million customers and the white trading community, are blasted out of existence.

The diplomatic struggle for the preservation of the Open Door thus shrinks to unimportant proportions compared to developments going on behind the scenes. Even if a compromise should be arrived at, even if the legal foundation of Western privileges—concessions, treaty rights, extraterritoriality—should stay intact, Western influence and Western interests in China are threatened. They are threatened by a purposeful Japanese policy which aims at destroying the narrow basis of Western activities. Political, cultural, and economic campaigns are coordinated and used to undermine the White Man's footholds in Eastern Asia. Radical dreamers in Japan already envisage an Asiatic Asia, with British influence pushed back to the Red Sea, with American influence pushed back to Hawaii.

This country, in its relationships with the Orient, has hardly made imperialism the tenor of its policy. Instead, peaceful commercial intercourse and a large measure of emotional investment—schools, hospitals, missions—have characterized our doings in the Far East. The continuation of these activities requires little more than good-will on the part of our neighbors on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. That the new bloc is to be forced away from a policy of good-will and understanding, that it is to be made to turn its back on an international civilization to which it owes so much—this, aside from the financial losses entailed, is a pity.

Pocket Guide

THE PATMAN BILL

WHAT is going to happen to the Patman bill, labeled "House Resolution No. 1," when it comes up before Congress early in the present session? God knows, but there is nothing to keep us from guessing.

Representative Wright Patman of Texas proposes to drive chain stores out of existence by levying a prohibitive tax which involves higher mathematics when the chain is spread over many states. His bill requires each store in interstate chains to pay a tax of $1,000 multiplied by the number of states in which the chain operates. For instance, if you operated a store in New York City, one in Connecticut, and one in New Jersey, you would have to pay $3,000 annually on each store. If the Patman bill should go through, you would probably close up your Connecticut and New Jersey stores; then you would not have to pay a cent.

But how about the big national chains such as Atlantic and Pacific? The tax on each A. and P. store would run up to $48,000, and the A. and P. system would have to pay the federal government about $500,000,000 a year to do business. The total charge against Sears Roebuck would be $14,000,000 a year.

Mr. Patman's idea is that the bill, if it becomes a law, will help small, independent retailers. Well, let's see about that. Several states already have similar laws taxing chains, though not so heavily. Texas, for example, has had one since 1935. It has caused the A. and P. to close down many stores, but it has done little good to the small independent retailer. Who has benefited? Why, the local chains which own ten or a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dozen stores, all in Texas. New York State is big enough for 500 grocery stores, at least, in a centrally controlled system. The Patman bill would not touch them.

The "Freedom of Opportunity League" is a part of Mr. Patman's scheme. It has a pleasant sound, but all it promises is that boys and girls may have a chance to open little neighborhood stores and fail miserably. A similar bit of bait in Germany helped to build up the Nazi Party among small shopkeepers. Department stores and big concerns were to be wiped out. Well, they haven't been.

My guess is that the Patman bill will be defeated in Congress if it ever gets to a vote. But there is strong pressure behind it. The independent retailers are strongly organized and have lots of publicity and lobbyists. One possible reason for the defeat of the bill is that Mr. Patman's name has been mentioned in newspaper stories of the McKesson and Robbins scandal. It is said that Coster paid him to deliver a series of lectures. Mr. Patman says he "made no profit whatsoever from the addresses." But the story will go a long way to defeat his bill.

If the Patman bill is passed, the national chains may go out of business. Or they may reorganize as forty-eight separate state corporations. The statewide chains would become the really powerful group. In the mix-up the cooperatives might find their chance, though of course Mr. Patman has no desire to build them up. Far from it.

Whatever his prospects for success, Mr. Patman's activities have scared the chain stores into hysterical and vociferous public-relations campaigns.

MINORITY NEEDS

In big-scale production the minority group gets no favors. Take men's pajamas. The manufacturers did some research and learned that many men don't wear pajama trousers. They therefore designed and offered for sale a long pajama coat without trousers; this was really the old-fashioned nightshirt in a different form. But there is a minority of men, probably some millions, who would like just the opposite—a pajama suit with one jacket and two pairs of trousers, because pajama trousers wear out more quickly than coats. Big manufacturers figure that they can't afford to bother with this minority.

Among other minority needs that whisper unheard are women's low-heeled dance and dress shoes in patterns as attractive as high-heeled shoes. These are easy to get at $12 and $16 but not at a moderate price.

Years ago all women's corsets were laced in the back. For a number of reasons they became unfashionable. But it is the step-in corset that helps us to get those runs in our stockings. The laced corset stays firmly on the figure, but the step-in doesn't. It pulls the stockings this way and that until a thread breaks. Women could have fewer runs if they went back to laced corsets, but they're not likely to do that. Stout women can still get laced corsets, but if a small woman wants one that looks dainty she has to have it made to order for a minimum price of $12.

I am sure there must be thousands of such minority demands. Perhaps it would be a good idea to make a list of them. A manufacturer might come along who would do something about them. Especially I'd like to call these items to the attention of the cooperatives. HELEN WOODWARD

In the Wind

REPORTS ARE now current that Frances Perkins will be named United States Ambassador to Moscow when Davies's successor is chosen. This possibility is fortified by Washington's conviction that "Fanny" can't end the war between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The appointment would no doubt have the support of conservatives, who have long urged sending her to Russia—unofficially.

SOME WEEKS ago the Chicago *Tribune,* which calls itself "the world's greatest newspaper," carried an article sensationally headlined: "C. I. O. Strangles San Francisco; Industries Die." The article "revealed" that because of labor strife "the Chevrolet automobile assembly plant, employing 3,500 men, was moved to Los Angeles." Shortly afterward the *Tribune* published a note explaining that the Chevrolet plant had never been in San Francisco.

WHEN A. A. BERLE returned from Lima, he, like Cordell Hull, hotly denied reports of "censorship" and "espionage" by Peruvian officials presumably sympathetic to fascism. In publishing Mr. Berle's speech lauding Peruvian hospitality the New York *Times* made a curious error:

> . . . I might note that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru, Dr. Carlos Concha, is . . . as a matter of *face,* as friendly to the United States as you can well find.

WASHINGTON REPORTS have suggested that the A. F. of L. fight against Donald Wakefield Smith, NLRB member, stems from a mistake made by President Green at a White House conference, and that the A. F. of L.'s real foe on the board is Edwin S. Smith. This confusion is not restricted to Green. George Meany, New York A. F. of L. leader, recently exclaimed to a group, "We've got to get that man Smith off the board." Asked which Smith he meant, Meany admitted that he wasn't sure.

INSTEAD OF Mrs. Roosevelt's daily column, readers of the Kansas City *Star* recently read this announcement:

> "My Day" Is Out
>
> "My Day," column by Eleanor Roosevelt, today is omitted from the *Star.* The column, entirely devoted to a visit Mrs. Roosevelt made yesterday to a reptile farm in Sarasota, Florida, contained no information the *Star* believes its readers would enjoy reading. The column will be resumed tomorrow.

BOTH RICHARD WHITNEY and F. Donald Coster were members of the New York Yacht Club. At a post-mortem on the Coster affair, one prominent club member privately commented: "It was pretty bad, but not as bad as the Whitney affair. At least Coster didn't steal from the club."

ST. DUNSTAN'S HOSPITAL in London recently reported fourteen new cases of blindness caused by the delayed effects of poison gas—gas used during the last war.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

AT THE risk of repeating something of what the editors of *The Nation* said last week, I must record my profound gratitude to President Roosevelt for the appointment of Felix Frankfurter. I know of no other appointment of his as courageous and as altogether fitting as this one. Indeed, I think the last three—Frankfurter to the Supreme Court, Murphy to the Attorney Generalship, and Hopkins to the Department of Commerce—are together the most remarkable the President has made since he took office. Two of them have been much misunderstood in certain circles which wish to misunderstand. In appointing these men Mr. Roosevelt therefore renews the hope that he is recovering some of the fighting spirit of the first years of his Administration. Certainly no one can question that all three men tremendously reinforce the liberalism of the Administration.

It is true that so outspoken an opponent of the President as the New York *Herald Tribune* has warmly approved Mr. Frankfurter's selection, and that up to the time of this writing the only voices raised in protest have been childishly stupid. Still, Frankfurter has been under fire for some time past for having given a great many ideas to the New Deal and supplied many of the men needed to carry it on. To have withheld the appointment on any such grounds would have been the grossest injustice—most of all to the Supreme Court itself. I do not believe that in my lifetime anyone has been appointed to the bench who was better qualified or more truly liberal, and when I say that I am not forgetting Oliver Wendell Holmes and his long previous experience on the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. For two more reasons the Frankfurter appointment was extraordinarily fitting. First, the President could not have found any man in the United States who more nearly embodies in himself the beauty of spirit and the lofty Americanism which characterized the late Justice Cardozo; I think that is the highest compliment that I can pay Felix Frankfurter. Secondly, I have no doubt that the President welcomed the opportunity to appoint Frankfurter just at this time as another answer to the Nazi ideology—excuse me, I should have said mania. It makes me proud of being an American to have our President honor so notable a Jewish-American when even in our own country the abominable tide of anti-Semitism is rising.

The other day my clever friend Victor Ridder heard a man say in a small group: "That proves it. That Frankfurter appointment proves that the Jews own America." Without a moment's hesitation Ridder replied: "I agree with you. And the appointment of Governor Murphy as Attorney General proves that the Catholics own the United States, and that of Harry Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce proves that the Methodists own the United States." That left nothing of the man to whom the retort was directed. Mr. Murphy is a Catholic, and if I mistake not he cherishes a perfectly legitimate desire to be the first Catholic President of the United States. I don't like many things that the Catholic church is doing just now; I think it is digging its own grave in mixing into politics and exercising a censorship in various fields, but I don't think this fact has the slightest bearing upon the fitness of Mr. Murphy's appointment. No one can question his ability and his liberalism, and I want to put it on record that I honor him particularly for the actions which brought down upon him the criticism of all the superficial readers of newspaper headlines and the abuse of the reactionaries and the entire anti-labor crowd of this country.

Of course Governor Murphy could have made a grandstand play against the sitdown strikers that would have made Wall Street and State Street and the *Herald Tribune* and the Chicago *Tribune* applaud him without end—it would probably have cost many good American lives, created numerous labor martyrs, and intensified the struggle between capital and labor. He did temporize; he did show great patience which to some seemed great weakness, but if ever a man was justified by the outcome it was Frank Murphy. Today the sitdown strike is a thing of the past. I believe that that particular form of strike will and should be outlawed. But whether I am correct in that or not, I think that Frank Murphy did the right thing.

I am not competent to pass judgment on Mr. Hopkins's administration of relief. That he has made grievous mistakes is plain. He deserves censure for his political speeches when Relief Administrator, and I am inclined to think that the newspapermen who charge him with a grave indiscretion in speaking of relief and then of votes for Roosevelt are pretty near the truth. But I find it hard to believe that he himself approved of corruption of voters. I still hope that he may prove worthy of confirmation. We have had a lot of dumb business men in the Commerce office. It is time that we had a different type of man and a fresh, able, liberal mind on the job, but we don't want another politician there—not even one like Hoover, who as Secretary built up a great political machine in his department.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Major Eliot on National Defense

THE RAMPARTS WE WATCH. By George Fielding Eliot. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

MAJOR ELIOT'S new book will, I believe, be quoted freely and frequently during the coming months while America's defense problems are being debated in Congress. It should prove an excellent influence, for even if some of its conclusions are open to question, the general temper of the book is admirable. To a discussion usually carried on in a superheated atmosphere compounded of emotion and ignorance it offers cool appraisal of a well-ordered array of facts.

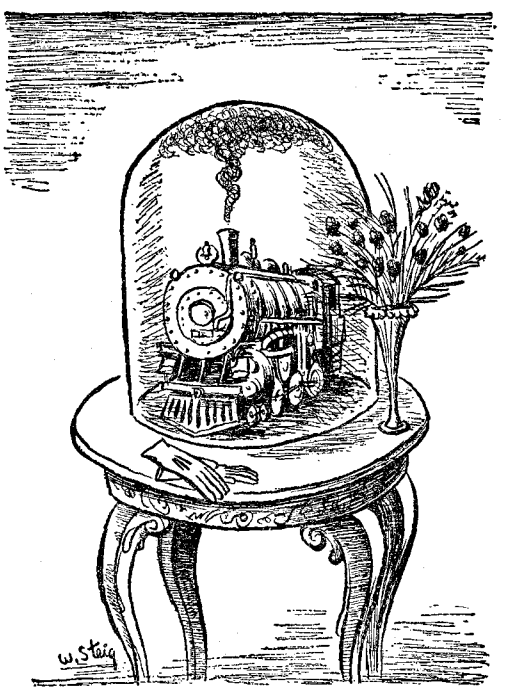
Neither the extreme pacifist nor the extreme jingo will derive much comfort from Major Eliot. He does not pooh-pooh the possibility of any attack on America; he believes that security can be achieved only by preparedness. On the other hand he is no advocate of a reckless piling up of arms. He thinks America needs a navy second to none, but not one on each ocean. He supports the naval and military air programs passed last year but rejects proposals for an air fleet outnumbering that of any other power. He examines carefully the alarmist theories about the vulnerability of the Panama Canal and concludes that the possibility of its being put out of action in a war is not very great. Nevertheless, conceding that damage or destruction is not entirely out of the question and realizing the vital importance of this link between East and West, he urges the construction of the Nicaragua Canal.

Major Eliot is not one of those military men who are indifferent to civil liberties and regard freedom as merely a good slogan to inspire cannon fodder. He strongly opposes such measures as the May bill, asking: "Why should we go to war to defend freedom if we must begin by destroying it with our own hands?" The advocates of "total militarization" in the event of war base their arguments, he suggests, on the assumption that the next war will be fought under the same conditions and by the same means as the last. But if America makes the navy the spearhead of its defense and resolves not to employ large-scale expeditionary forces, there is no reason why these conditions should recur.

In putting the navy in the center of the picture, Major Eliot makes the good point that a large navy is far less dangerous to domestic liberty than a large army. No admiral with dictatorial ambitions could impose himself on this country through command of the navy; a general disposing of extensive forces strategically placed throughout the land would have a much better chance. The American army ought to be auxiliary to the navy. To perform its functions efficiently it needs better organization but not very much greater man power. In this connection Major Eliot makes an interesting proposal for greater coordination between the regular army and the National Guard, with regiments of the former being brought up to full strength on mobilization by drawing on affiliated units of the latter. As part of this scheme he would like to see the National Guard, which is paid and equipped by the federal government, relieved of local police duties. Some governors, he says in a masterpiece of understatement, have used the guard "for purposes hardly in accordance with the reputation for impartiality and dissociation from politics which is the army's pride."

Major Eliot is well aware of the close relation between defense policy and foreign policy, but he assumes that the latter will continue to be limited to a narrow range of objectives. There are, he suggests, three fixed points determined by public opinion which cannot be overlooked: (1) We will make no covenant with foreign powers which might involve us in a war not of our own making. (2) We will defend the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. (3) We will maintain at least the existing measures of restriction on immigration. Pursuing such aims, America can, it is claimed, follow a strictly naval policy of defense. Like Britain, before the advent of the bomber destroyed its insular security, it can remain immune from attack by maintaining an invincible navy.

At this point Major Eliot might with advantage have followed a little farther the teachings of history. In order to maintain naval predominance Britain always regarded it as essential to uphold the balance of power in Europe. For two centuries it strove to prevent any one nation acquiring the hegemony of the Continent, and toward that end employed a series of diplomatic combinations supplemented on occasion by expeditionary forces and subsidies to allies. The question that has arisen since Munich—this book was evidently completed prior to that momentous agreement—is whether America can contemplate with equanimity the domination of Europe by a potentially hostile power. Major Eliot admits that if Germany's aspirations were realized in Europe its ambitions "would shortly come into conflict with our own." German control of the Azores or Cape Verde Islands or of the bulge of West



Book Review
"High Iron" by Lucius Beebe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Africa would, he considers, be a matter of very grave concern. For the first time since 1812 a potential enemy would be able to set up bases within striking distance of America.

So long as Britain and France command the eastern Atlantic, this is but a hypothetical danger. But the possibility that these powers will be either conquered or intimidated cannot any longer be ignored. It may be that Americans should ask themselves whether it would not be wise to insure against this risk. Payment of the premium would not involve a larger armament program than Major Eliot outlines. It would mean rather taking a leaf from Britain's book and supplementing naval policy by the power of the purse and the industrial machine. America has yet to realize that in the long run its economic strength outweighs all other weapons of defense. My most serious criticism of this book is that it has not done all it might to enlighten public opinion in this regard.

KEITH HUTCHISON

From Plains to Salt Water

COWBOY SONGS AND OTHER FRONTIER BALLADS. Collected by John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

SONGS OF AMERICAN SAILORMEN. By Joanna Colcord. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

WHALE SHIPS AND WHALING. By Albert Cook Church. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

SPACIOUSLY designed and with airs given for most of the songs, the new edition of Professor Lomax's classic collection is made for singing, and now includes "Goodby, Old Paint," "The Strawberry Roan," "Quantrell," and others indispensable for a final roundup. A few of the ballads of the earlier collection are unaccountably omitted, but on the whole these are of somewhat inferior quality, with the possible exception of a song which plays variations on that once familiar command, "Root, hog, or die."

Professor Lomax's original collection, published nearly forty years ago, made an opening wedge for the slowly developed argument that we have a native folksong. As it happens, cowboy songs were among the latest of its creations, while others of a far older lineage came much more gradually into recognition, among them the sea shanties which Joanna Colcord gathered a few years back in "Roll and Go" and which she now presents in a greatly enlarged edition in her "Songs of American Sailormen." In this volume we have the first full insistence that Americans have made their own contribution to sea shanties and forecastle songs. Since English shanties have been faithfully collected, and since American sailors undoubtedly took over many English shanties, it has been assumed that our own only followed, somewhat passively, the English tradition.

No one could be better fitted than Miss Colcord to argue the point or to present the evidence to the contrary. A descendant of five generations of deep-water seamen, masters and builders of square-rigged vessels, she knows the materials by a direct line; she spent most of her girlhood at sea on board her father's ship, on China voyages; and her knowledge and affection have led her to a thorough study of special collections of maritime material. She presents a large number of shanties and forecastle songs whose origin is unmistakably American, and others in abundance which show by their themes, their allusions, and their lingo that they were shaped as well as sung by American sailors. Not least interesting are ballads which suggest that some of the New England songs of the lumber shanties were carried out to sea and there somewhat transformed by the sailors who sang them. "Rocks in de Mountains" is obviously a transliteration of a John Henry song, and others were born out of Negro minstrelsy. Throughout, Miss Colcord stresses the infusion of Negro themes, rhythms, choruses from the days when Mobile was a great Southern port. She includes two ballads of Great Lakes shipping, "The Persia's Crew" and the well known "Cruise of the Bigler," but her real province is salt water, a sufficiently large one, and songs popular on sailing ships from Duluth to the Soo, Chicago, and Buffalo await a devotion similar to hers.

Like "Songs of American Sailormen," the volume by Albert Cook Church has grown out of long and habitual knowledge of the sea. Some two hundred photographs have been drawn from Mr. Church's truly vast collection to portray the history of whalers and the complex business of whaling. Some of them are from old wet-plate prints which had to be restored; some of the negatives had to be rebuilt from broken glass; many date back forty years or more. We could wish that half-tones rather than offset had been used for the reproductions, for sharper edge and detail, but the collection is truly an incomparable one, and we may well be grateful for what we have.

Here indeed are ships, some of which were built at the beginning of the last century. The Charles W. Morgan, nearly a hundred years old and shown in many phases, weathered the hurricane of last September, losing some of her planking and most of her copper sheathing but nothing aloft. The main stages of building whaleships are shown, as well as an evolution of types. Try-pots appear in operation. A most engaging group of pictures indicate typical masters, mates, and seamen. Mr. Church builds up climaxes by his pictures, showing whalers hove down for repairs—a truly gargantuan sight—and others breaking up after a wreck, or peacefully homeward bound. The Wanderer and the Morning Star appear in a stately series. Some of the most beautiful of the photographs are of sections of canvas or of geometrical patterns of rigging. The pictures are preceded by a brief, clear history of American whaling.

CONSTANCE ROURKE

Zoology, Illustrated

ANIMALS WITHOUT BACKBONES. By Ralph Buchsbaum. University of Chicago Press. $5.

THERE was a time when the informed public was deeply interested in the biological investigations of the day. I am thinking of the immediate sale and discussion of Darwin's "Origin of Species." Today the layman is much more concerned with the electron and its brethren than with things biological. This is due in part to the lack of good general books in the field, and also to the fact that with the exception of the theory of the gene we have been presented with no big generalizations but rather with a welter of minutiae.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recently the advent of cheap photographic film—a development which supports Hogben's thesis of the interrelationship of science and economic progress—sent the younger naturalists afield. This book is the first example offered to the public of what is happening in the modern biology classroom. By means of pictures the student is given a much better idea of the panorama of living things than he was likely to acquire from surveying a shelf of preserved specimens.

The book is composed largely of non-technical descriptions of typical animals of the invertebrate kingdom, supported by excellent line drawings and numerous splendid photographs One only wishes that color photography were available for this kind of work. As a general résumé of the anatomy and natural history of the invertebrates, the book is excellent.

It is unfortunate to have to record a major omission, and to probe into its causes. The conspicuous absence of any mention of the fruitfly, Drosophila, from the chapter on insects led to the discovery that neither the fruitfly nor the subject of genetics is mentioned anywhere in the book. From its worldwide use for studies in genetics Drosophila has acquired a special importance in the invertebrate kingdom, and its omission is unpardonable. If the book were primarily concerned with invertebrate anatomy, it might be argued that genetics had no place in it; but it is really an introduction to general zoology based on the invertebrates, and any student or layman opening such a volume should be able to obtain an idea of the simple basic principles of genetics, and of what Drosophila is like. In contrast to the omission of genetics, a whole chapter is devoted to the subject of regeneration, based almost exclusively on the work and theories of Professor Child and his students at the University of Chicago.

This type of sectionalism is unfortunately widespread in the teaching of zoology. In recent years it has reached such proportions that a presumably general course given at one university may include very little of the material given at another. The significance of biological theories and researches is in many quarters subordinated to the status of the biologist responsible for them. "Animals Without Backbones" is written with a fine disregard for research in certain fields done at other places than Chicago. Some persons may point out that similar behavior is to be observed at other universities. This criticism will be correct; and it goes a long way to explain the doldrums in which contemporary American zoology finds itself. Such well-developed prejudices in a young scientist are lamentable, and reflect small credit on his teachers.

There is no permanent separation possible between development and heredity. It is true that in their quest for the elucidation of the gene, Bridges, Muller, Morgan, and Sturtevant deliberately disregarded development for a long time. But the function of the gene in development has to be recognized; and when, as on page 130, the author inquires into the origin of certain developmental mechanisms and ignores heredity as a possible factor, he is limiting the possible fields of investigation and negating the scientific method.

In order to keep alive, zoology has to compete with the other sciences both for financial support and for recruits. The layman of means recognizes this emphasis on personality and this preoccupation with minutiae, and turns aside. The talented recruit avoids a field in which the limits of investigation are defined in terms of local politics. The outlook for zoology, as evidenced by this book, is none too hopeful. With wider use of the camera we may expect better technical exposition and possibly a revival of interest in natural history, but general theory still lags behind instead of leading the way.

HUGH H. DARBY

Fallada Among the Nazis

WOLF AMONG THE WOLVES. By Hans Fallada. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

FALLADA'S first two books, "Peasants, Bosses, and Bombs" (1931) and "Little Man—What Now?" (1932), were works of a vigorous realist. There was a wicked and stupid world and even the good were weak, but there was also sincere sympathy with the little pleasures and the great sorrows of the under-dog. Then came 1933. Nevertheless, in 1934 Fallada published "The World Outside," which was still in the same vein, though in an apologetic preface, omitted in the English edition, he explained that the wickedness portrayed in the book was only possible under the false humanitarianism of the old system and was now happily a thing of the past. In his next book, "Once We Had a Child" (1934) —a boorish book about a boor—Fallada tried to toe the line. Not with full success, it seems, as the preface of "Wolf Among Wolves," also omitted in the English translation, mentions attacks on the score that the central character, a German peasant, was not sufficiently idealized.

Then Fallada fled into fairy tales. Both "Sparrow Farm" (1935) and "An Old Heart Goes A-Journeying" (1936) were certainly inoffensive politically; they were also second-rate literature. They were in fact feeble imitations of E. Th. A. Hoffmann and Jean Paul.

In his latest novel Fallada speaks again with his own voice; again it is the evil world in which brutes and blockheads torture the weak. But the author is forced to speak through the device of the historical novel. More recent experiences may be hidden in the convenient garb of the past. Nowadays, we are instructed in the preface (omitted), all this is remedied, but we should remember it in order "to be twice as happy about our fortunate salvation." I think Fallada does not mean it; his book is not a Nazi book.

The dollar stands at 414,000 marks when the book opens. When the hurly-burly's done—it closes on a hopeful note—the Rentenmark is established. This was to have been the history of the German inflation, but gradually it becomes the story of the reformation of an amiable scapegrace, ex-Second Lieutenant Wolfgang Pagel. After the war, in spite of his respectable parentage, the lieutenant becomes a gambler, but redeems himself by working as a bailiff on an East Prussian manor. His reward: he is allowed to study psychiatry at the University of Berlin and to marry his former mistress, Petra, an occasional street-walker with a pure heart. The child—indispensable to every full-fledged Fallada novel—is born, in this one, behind the scenes. Around Wolfgang Pagel revolves an ambitious panorama of the inflation in town and country, with countless characters and scenes through 724 overcrowded pages. Unfortunately there is never a dull one.

The background is authentic enough. I noticed only a little slip: the play "Finden Sie das Constanze sich richtig

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

verhält?"—the German adaptation of Maugham's "The Constant Wife"—is mentioned as a great success of the year 1923; actually it was not produced in Berlin before 1928. But characters and situations show the German lack of degree and proportion. Fallada's liking for the macabre leads him too often into caricature and melodrama. The necessity of getting all his weird characters into all their weird situations forces him to overwork the mechanism of chance. (Not that I object to chance, but it should be blind; here it is mostly a malignant Argus.)

Nevertheless, there are some excellent bits, and though the book never achieves the compassionate reality of "Little Man, What Now?" though Wolf and Petra never become as real as Pinneberg and Lämmchen, it has merits. It is interesting, certainly a merit in any novel. And it betrays pity for human suffering, which is certainly a merit in a German novel today.

ROBERT VAMBERY

A Catholic in Majorca

A DIARY OF MY TIMES. By Georges Bernanos. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

GEORGES BERNANOS, Catholic, conservative, royalist, does not like the world he sees about him. Particularly he does not like a section which his prejudices might expect to find a paradise—beautiful and pitiful Majorca, where fascist groups under the leadership of an Italian general executed three thousand people in the first seven months of the Spanish civil war. "Let me remind you," he says as he tells of it, "that this tiny island can be crossed in two hours, from one end to the other. So that any inquisitive person with a car, if he took the trouble, could successfully wager that he would witness the blowing-out of fifteen wrong-thinking brains per day. These figures are not unknown to his Lordship the Archbishop of Majorca."

He does not like dictators or liars or cowards. He does not like cruelty dictated from above and turning kindly people into beasts or victims. He does not like perversion of youth under the guise of patriotism—his own son was a member of the Phalanx until the killings sickened him—or the glorifying of brutality under the name of order. He does not like terrorism stalking about to "save Spain" and "save religion." "It is a cruel thing," he says, "when what you were born to love becomes degraded before your eyes."

He says he does not like these and many other manifestations of our times. He says so violently and vividly, in a book of 265 pages that is a fine and fiery piece of sustained invective. He makes no bones about what the state of the world is, or the effect of the Archbishop of Palma "fluttering his august hands" in a blessing over Italian machine-guns. He tells their Catholic Lordships the Spanish hierarchy just what it is that they are letting themselves in for, and he minces no words.

The book is not easy reading. It goes on and on with its high-pitched prose and its sustained indignation. People who like logic, who prefer orderly development, will grow restive under the gusto with which it hurls, and hurdles, contradictions. People who like facts will want to take some of the things he says out from under the way he says them and look at them in a quiet light. But there is no escaping the scaring flame of his passionate outcry. And when it is all over, and you have turned out the light and gone to sleep, you will wake up the next day with the feeling of having passed through a healing furnace. For those of us who hate violence, and who are by that very hatred rendered incapable of the violent efforts necessary to stamp it out, there is a certain catharsis in his denunciations. He says what we are obscurely restrained from saying, and we thank him for his white-hot words.

MILDRED ADAMS

Art as Expression

THE PRINCIPLES OF ART. By R. G. Collingwood. Oxford University Press. $4.50.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Collingwood's name may not be known in this country to a very large public, professional students of aesthetics for over thirteen years have known his slender little volume "Outlines of the Philosophy of Art" as one of the ablest presentations of Croce's theory that have been made in the English language. The publication, therefore, of a full-sized treatise by him is to be welcomed. For in spite of the seeming neglect into which Croce has fallen, his theory of art as expression is still widely, though unwittingly, held, even by those who reject the notion of art for art's sake.

Widely accepted as it still is, however, the implications of the theory of art as expression are seldom adequately realized. It is one of the merits of Mr. Collingwood's treatise that he draws them out in their full aggressive starkness, and thus forces us to see what we are committing ourselves to when we accept it. If art is the imaginative expression of emotion, it is an activity which is different in kind from other modes of human activity, and it has no relation to craft or technique. Nor has it anything to do with representation or amusement. What enables us to suppose that craft or technique is somehow connected with art is the distinction we make between form and content or matter. This distinction, Mr. Collingwood argues, is essentially confused and unacceptable. But if art is the expression of emotion, it is a purely inward, spontaneous, imaginative activity, complete when the emotion is felt by anyone to have achieved satisfactory clarification or intelligibility; and it is therefore essentially independent of its "externalization." Again, if art is expression of emotion it has nothing to do with moral or political activity. An artist "with strong political feelings will be to that extent better qualified to produce works of art than one without." But if he is an artist, and not a magician, he will seek to clarify his emotions, not to arouse them in others. What "most of our leading young writers have reverted to" is not art but magic. For magic is not the science of illogical, primitive minds, as we have been taught, but a technique designed to arouse emotions which can be used as motive force in communal activity.

No one who is seriously interested in art will quarrel with the belief that it has little to do with amusement or representation. But anyone who is not an idealist must object radically to the distinction between the creative act and its "externalization" through the material, for mind cannot exist independently of the materials and tools which the human

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

animal handles. Those aware of the lack of consistent principles in current criticism will welcome Mr. Collingwood's efforts to define art, and to distinguish it conceptually from "magic." But few will assume with him that a logical distinction entails an actual separation of the things distinguished. It is possible under unusual conditions to enjoy a "pure" aesthetic experience. But seldom is serious art free of "magical" elements, and when it is, its purity does not guarantee its value in the total human economy. Objections to Mr. Collingwood's position, however, should not obscure the fact that his book faces unambiguously some of the most central difficulties of contemporary aesthetics, and does so under the conviction that aesthetics is not a timeless science but must be relevant to contemporary art. It is the immediate incidence of this book which gives it its challenging and stimulating quality. ELISEO VIVAS

Aragon's "Real World"

RESIDENTIAL QUARTER. By Louis Aragon. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THE years immediately preceding the last World War saw a crisis in European civilization that was nowhere more marked than in France. Today that crisis is attracting the attention of many of the most distinguished novelists of the political Left Bank. To Jules Romains's and Roger Martin du Gard's and L. F. Céline's recent cyclic novels, which bring us up to the events of 1914, must now be added Louis Aragon's "Real World," of which the second instalment has just appeared in English. Whereas the authors of "Men of Good Will" and "The Thibaults" had reached manhood before the war, MM. Aragon and Céline had not yet done their military service, and it is fitting that in their novels we should view the oncoming catastrophe through adolescent eyes. Nor is it surprising if their vision is slightly blurred. In addition, their lack of maturity, even today, may explain why their message suffers from being too obvious.

M. Céline's record is the only frankly autobiographical one, for Louis Aragon has shared his own experiences between the two Barbentane brothers. Edmond, a free-thinker and realist from childhood, abandons the study of medicine for gambling, blackmail, and the career of a super-gigolo. Armand, always an idealist, undergoes a series of disillusionments as he gives up his double preparation for the priesthood and strike-breaking to become a Socialist and day laborer. One might think that there would be some point at which these two careers would cross, but the poignant meeting of the two in Paris after Armand has run away from home proves the impossibility of mutual sympathy. In fact, the Edmond-Armand antithesis turns out to be a factitious and flimsy thread on which to hang a novel, though it does offer an excuse for the fashionable multiple-plot composition. Too obvious and repetitious, likewise, are the constant satire of the middle class and corresponding defense of the masses. The truth is that M. Aragon has sacrificed everything to accomplishing those ends. Lacking in any real atmosphere, the novel is peopled with puppets.

There is no need to know that M. Aragon is an editor of *l'Humanité* and *Commune* to hear the voice of the militant

RADIO-PHONOGRAPHS

Which ones are "Best Buys"?
Which are unsatisfactory?

A good radio-phonograph combination is an expensive proposition. Before spending your money for one, make sure you're going to get good value.

To help you in getting good value Consumers Union has tested 16 models of radio-phonographs and has rated them by name for tone quality, faithfulness of reproduction (both for radio and for records), and other factors.

You'll find the results of this test in the January issue of *Consumers Union Reports.* You'll also find results of tests and ratings of ready-built record players and record player parts and some data on needles.

This report, by pointing out which instruments may be expected to perform more satisfactorily than other instruments of the same general type in the same general price range, may easily save you a considerable sum on the purchase of a radio-phonograph and help you get the high quality which music lovers want in such an instrument.

Other reports in this issue give valuable buying data on HAIR DYES, muslin and percale SHEETS, industrial LIFE INSURANCE, DRY CLEANING FLUIDS and other products.

CONSUMERS UNION OF U. S., INC.

Even casual use of the buying information supplied in the January issue of Consumers Union Reports *may save you several times the cost of subscription to this magazine and help you steer clear of worthless or dangerous products. If one issue can do this, think of what twelve will do for you! Mail the coupon below today! We'll immediately send you the January issue. In April you will receive without extra charge the 1939 Buying Guide—a pocket-size handbook rating by brand name as "Best Buys," "Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable," most of the products you buy.*

To CONSUMERS UNION of U. S., Inc.
17 Union Square W., New York, N. Y.

Send me *Consumers Union Reports* for one year and the 1939 *Buying Guide* when it appears. I enclose $3. I agree to keep confidential all material sent to me which is so designated.

Name .....

Address..... 1N9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1779 1939

"A SONG ABOUT AMERICA"

A Musical Play by Hoffman Hays

MONDAY · JANUARY 23RD

LENIN MEMORIAL

MADISON SQ. GARDEN

Speakers

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER • JAMES W. FORD

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ISRAEL AMTER

Auspices

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

Admission $1.65, $1.10, 65c, 25c

Tickets at Workers Book Store, 50 East 13th St

WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

CAPITALISM
FASCISM
COMMUNISM
SOCIALISM

WHICH?

- History of Socialism
- Introduction to Socialism
- "Isms" in the American Labor Movement
- Communism, Fascism, Social Democracy
- Also Advanced Courses

FREE COURSES Start JAN. 23 & 25

RAND SCHOOL 7 E. 15 St. AL 4-3094

ASK FOR BULLETIN NS-1

Next Week in *The Nation*

ELIOT JANEWAY on

America in the Post-Munich World

in "Residential Quarter," nor is it necessary to be informed of his early affiliation with the Dadaist movement to sense a certain resemblance to Cloud-Cuckoo Land in his "Real World." He has not entirely lost, either, his early obsession with the erotic. There are those who would contest the translator's assertion in the introduction that M. Aragon is easily more gifted than Jean Cocteau or Jean Giraudoux. The same readers will reproach the translation for its marks of carelessness.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

An Indian's Memories

SON OF OLD MAN HAT: A NAVAJO AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Recorded by Walter Dyk. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THE influence of a definitely patterned culture upon persons is best revealed by studies of the individual in relation to a simpler society than our own. This autobiography of a Navajo, like Paul Radin's shorter but fine Winnebago autobiography, "Crashing Thunder," shows the cultural patterns of a primitive society in operation upon an individual. It is a transcript, completely unromanticized, of an Indian's memories of his childhood and young manhood, and these memories prove that in an integrated culture like the Navajo, the individual and social concerns of a young boy are the same. Not that the individual is suppressed—his observations are often unique and, to us, poetic—but the Son of Old Man Hat never thought of his ego as separate from its extension in the lives of his family and tribe or from its functioning in the culture of a nomadic, sheep-herding people. This Navajo resolves without effort all conflicts between the personal and the social. The book will interest readers who find more analytical anthropological studies of primitive cultures confusing, for here Indian psychology is shown as growing out of a society.

An autobiography offers always an excellent field for the examination of individual maladjustments. This serene Navajo's memories of companionship and loneliness, of how he came to recognize death as part of life, of his acceptance, as an adolescent, of awareness of sex as a normal experience, prove that individuality exists untroubled in a culture which does not deny but trains it.

EDA LOU WALTON

DRAMA

Two Hits

"THE WHITE STEED" (Cort Theater) is by the Irish schoolmaster, Paul Vincent Carroll, whose "Shadow and Substance" was so widely admired last season. The chances are that the new play will enjoy an even greater success, for though the theme is much the same, the terms in which it is stated are considerably more familiar to an average audience. Last year the conflict between ecclesiastical bigotry on the one hand and loving faith on the other was presented in the guise of a conflict between a proud canon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who fancied himself in the role of an Italian prince of the church and a simple servant girl who was almost a saint; this year the same conflict appears as a struggle between a tolerant old shepherd of his flock and the puritanical young tyrant who is sent to replace him. If the two devices are, in the abstract, equally satisfactory, the second is likely to be more immediately understandable to an American audience, which has had little direct experience with either princes of the church or saintly servant girls but does know the genus reformer both as an actual person and as a villain in popular literature. "Shadow and Substance" seemed theatrically impressive but a little remote; Father Shaughnessy and his Morals Committee are easily recognized as equivalents of our own Purity Leagues.

In Ireland, at least, the new play is also bound to seem much more of a pamphlet than "Shadow and Substance" was. Its anti-clerical—though not anti-Catholic—tone is bitterer as well as more downright, there are a number of polemical passages in defense of secular government, and there are also various satirical references to the Irish habit of blaming everything on England which are obvious invitations for a shower of vegetables in the best tradition of the Abbey Theater. None of these things is directly relevant in America, but what remains is an obviously heart-warming tale of snoopers defeated and the triumph of tolerance in the persons of both the rebellious heroine and the humane priest. The fact that the issue is presented in terms which are neither very new nor very subtle is no disadvantage in the case of a play whose appeal is obviously to familiar sentiments. The audience is not left for a moment in doubt concerning which side it is on, and it is disappointed in none of its emotional expectations.

In view of the fact that there seems to be some disposition to accept the author as the latest in the succession of Irish dramatists, it might be just as well to go on record with the opinion that, charming and effective writer though he is, Mr. Carroll is no John Millington Synge and no Shean O'Casey, but an amiable and facile popular dramatist whose gift for humor and eloquence of a typically Gaelic sort he finds it all the easier to exploit because his convictions and his enthusiasms are simple and readily accepted. Thanks to a certain naivete—both intellectual and emotional—which is obviously his, he can state with all the passion of a newly discovered conviction propositions which a profounder man would find it more difficult to get excited about, and in all sincerity devise theatrical situations which would be bound to arouse the suspicions of a more sophisticated mind. But that they are effective as theater there can be no doubt, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that an audience which has been led along well-worn paths to hate a meddler should feel very happy when he is disposed of by a miracle—which may be a miracle of the Holy Virgin and may be a miracle of the will. At the proper moment the paralyzed priest rises to his feet and the career of his successor is abruptly terminated. Richard is himself again. The present production is admirable, with George Coulouris as the villain, Barry Fitzgerald (formerly of the Abbey Players) richly Irish as the paralyzed priest, and Jessica Tandy as Nora, the young girl who can't be browbeaten. Liam Redmond is also excellent as the frightened young schoolmaster whose final determina-

THE RAND SCHOOL OFFERS COURSES IN

GOVERNMENT, Dr. Harvey Pinney
Mon. 7:00

THE MOTION PICTURE. Dr. Richard R. Plant
Mon. 8:30

ECONOMICS. Dr. Samuel Stein
Tues. 6:00

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, Dr. Mordecai Grossman
Tues. 8:30

MASTERWORKS OF OPERA. Adele T. Katz.
Tues. 8:30

MARXISM SINCE MARX. Algernon Lee
Wed. 7:00

APPRECIATION OF LITERATURE. Elias L. Tartak
Wed. 8:30

PSYCHOANALYSIS. Dr. Theodor Reik
Thurs. 7:00

FORUM. Elias L. Tartak, Chairman
Thurs. 8:30

• *ENROLL NOW* •

FEE FOR 14 WEEKS — $4.50

(Single Admission, 50c)

40 Other Courses
Send for Bulletin N-1

Term Starts
Week of January 23

RAND SCHOOL, 7 E. 15th St., N. Y. - AL 4-3094

2nd Annual Dance for Spain

MECCA TEMPLE
133 West 55th St.

SAT. & SUN. Eves at 8:15 Feb 4th & 5th

ARGENTINITA and her Spanish Ensemble

Maria GAMBARELLI

Doris HUMPHREY — Chas. WEIDMAN and Dance Group

Juan MARTINEZ & ANTONITA HAL LEROY TAMIRIS

ANNA SOKOLOW and Dance Unit EDWIN MICHAELS of "Pinocchio"

FELICIA SOREL'S "Railroad Dance"
from Marc Connolly's play "Everywhere I Roam"

Tickets: $2.20 $1.65 $1.10 85c 55c (tax included)
at American Dance Association, 1560 B'way (46th St.) Med. Bur. & No. American Committee 381 4th Ave (27th St.) Workers Bookshop 50 East 13th Street Labianca, B'way at 42nd Street and all University Bookshops

Sponsored by AMERICAN DANCE ASSOCIATION

Benefit MEDICAL BUREAU & NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

Program For Each Evening Announced Later

NOW you may order

BOOKS

from THE NATION

At the request of many readers who reside in communities in which no bookshop has been established, *The Nation* now offers to deliver any book to your door at the regular publisher's price (postfree) providing payment is received with the order or publisher's price plus postage if sent C. O. D.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
The Nation • 20 Vesey Street • New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to mount behind Nora on the white steed which brought Finn back to Ireland is perhaps more satisfying than convincing.

"The Primrose Path" (Biltmore Theater) is another play probably destined to a large success because, in addition to some other virtues, it has that of supplying in highly satisfactory form one of the things which a public wants. Based on the popular novel "February Hill," it deals lustily with the adventures of an amoral family whose members manage to combine the total depravity of the denizens of Tobacco Road with a cheerful exuberance possible only in a region free from the hookworm. The clan is led by Helen Westley, who plays the cheerful old harridan of a grandmother with fine abandon, and the play is frankly bawdy—which word, as Arthur Guiterman has recently pointed out, is never used in current dramatic criticism except as a laudatory adjective. Grandma gets herself sent to jail when she wants a rest; mother supports the family on an income derived from weekends with visiting business men; and daughter exhibits a fine talent for shoplifting. But there is, for all this, nothing grim about the play, which is sweetened by a touch of sentiment or of pathos at the right moments and proceeds merrily upon the assumption that the daughter of a shanty family has not only a good heart and lots of sex appeal but may be expected to look very well in her clothes. "The Primrose Path" is not for the squeamish or for those who demand grim realism, but it is directed in spirited fashion by George Abbott, and is a very pleasant piece of good unclean fun.

At the Martin Beck the ever-welcome D'Oyly Carte Company is paying another of its visits. There are many of the familiar faces but some new costumes and new scenery. Just for the sake of variety I might confess that the performance of "The Mikado" seemed to me ritualistically perfect but not especially spirited.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FILMS

"IT'S no use getting angry," said an intelligent-looking young girl to her friend as they walked out of Radio City Music Hall after the opening of "Trade Winds" (Walter Wanger). Her friend had obviously intended to show her something beautiful and exciting.

It's no use getting angry. I wonder. The daily reviewers seem to have followed that advice. They mocked gently at the picture and found this and that in it to praise. In my opinion it is almost the worst hodge-podge ever produced. The facts are these: Tay Garnett, the "director" of the whole, went on a world cruise and made some amateurish shots of street scenes, bars, and a horse race in the Far East. He brought back nothing usable, but the shots were used nevertheless. With the magic help of the screen process the Hollywoodians superimposed a few actors and a story for which the right adjective is stupid. A girl (Joan Bennett, with black hair in imitation of Hedy Lamarr) shoots at a playboy for driving her sister to suicide and starts around the world to evade the police. The well-equipped San Francisco police department apparently has no means of finding out that the fatal shot was fired by someone else—the girl's pistol was loaded with blanks. Instead the police have to hire a private detective (Fredric March) to catch the alleged murderess after a chase around the world. He pretends to be a heel who is only after the $100,000 reward in order to prove that a man cannot die of a wound he didn't receive.

The plot—its dulness is matched by the dulness of the dialogue—is presented as sort of prologue and epilogue to a tiresome sequence of Mr. Garnett's shots, on which is superimposed uninspired studio lovemaking that is seldom nice to look at and always painful to listen to.

There are many bad movies for all kinds of legitimate reasons, and there is no use getting angry about them week in and week out. But "Trade Winds" is a cynically dishonest production. Seldom has the discrepancy between movie technique and its corrupted use been so frivolously demonstrated. That the picture stars two well-known actors, obviously disgusted themselves, who brought only their names to the studio, and that it is launched under the good name of Walter Wanger of "Blockade" fame, only underscores the deliberate deception of the public. If your milkman waters your milk or your liquor dealer your whiskey you can send the police after them. Not so with movie producers. But you can get angry, and it might help if we all got angry together the next time.

I went from "Trade Winds" to "Arrest Bulldog Drummond" (Paramount), which is disarming in its honest execution of a successful pulp formula. It is always the same story; the producers might issue the older Drummond pictures with new titles and nobody would notice it.

At Cinema 49 is a program both delightful and touching. Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse cartoon, "Lonely Ghosts," is grotesque fantasy with surrealist touches, but it is even more profound than the wonderfully witty "Mother Goose." It is combined with a simple new French picture, "Heart of Paris" (André Daven), in which the good-hearted owner of a bicycle shop first saves, as an obstinate juror, an innocent girl from the guillotine and then takes her into his home, hiding her identity even from his good wife. After many comic and dramatic twists the family finds it out—along with his honest intentions. Raimu plays the part of the Parisian shopkeeper with the warm bonhomie of our fellow-citizen Hendrik Willem Van Loon, whom he greatly resembles. Michèle Morgan impersonates the innocent girl with such simplicity that she will not easily be forgotten. Marcel Achard has written an excellent dialogue. Here, again, is a French picture worth seeing—an essentially true story sincerely told.

FRANZ HOELLERING

In an Early Issue of *The Nation*

The Baltimore Sun Goes Down

Fact and Myth in the Sunpapers Legend

BY WILLARD R. ESPY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Nominations for the Honor Roll

Dear Sirs: We have just read *The Nation's* Honor Roll for 1938 in the January 7 issue, and we congratulate you on your selection of the people and organizations which have fought to preserve American democracy in the past year. We were, however, keenly disappointed to see that you omitted the consumers' cooperative movement, which is growing to such an extent that it will soon be a tower of strength in the preservation of democracy.

Your readers will be interested to know that there are now two million members of consumer cooperatives in the United States, and their business last year exceeded half a billion dollars. The cooperatives in rural areas have broken the commercial-fertilizer trust, and the gas and oil co-ops have beaten down the excessive margins in gas and oil distribution. In the state of Ohio alone the cooperatives saved consumers more than two million dollars on gas and oil purchases last year. The Consumers' Cooperative Association in North Kansas City, Missouri, is completing plans for the construction of its own refinery and is now shipping oil to co-ops in France, Scotland, Belgium, Bulgaria, Esthonia, and Canada.

These are a few of the things which have made the cooperatives eligible for inclusion in any honor roll of those who are fighting the battle for economic democracy.

WALLACE CAMPELL,
Assistant Secretary,
the Cooperative League

New York, January 7

Dear Sirs: As a member of the Executive Committee of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, I was gratified to find the name of that organization included in *The Nation's* Honor Roll for 1938, along with the American Friends Service Committee and the American Red Cross. I should like, however, to call your attention to one omission which does an injustice to a large body of magnificent supporters of the Spanish struggle in America, namely, the Confederated Spanish Societies to Aid Spain. Made up largely of naturalized Spanish-American citizens, this committee very quietly and effectively raised $300,000 from May, 1937, through November, 1938, with an overhead of less than 10 per cent. From intimate contact with the Spanish societies I can testify to the amazing consistency with which their members, almost all of whom are of the working class, have given large proportions of their weekly salaries to feed and clothe their brothers in Spain.

JAMES LOEB

New York, January 8

Dear Sirs: I have read *The Nation's* Honor Role for 1938 with great interest and heartily approve of the selections. However, I believe that a niche should have been found for the New York *Post,* for the following reasons: For its brave editorial policy, its unceasing and good fight for the underprivileged, its attempt to spread culture among the masses, and its timely and brilliant exposé of the Nazi spy ring.

J. WEINSTEIN

Brooklyn, N. Y., January 11

Fingerprinting Workers

Dear Sirs: You are no doubt aware of the recent order issued by Colonel Brehon Somervell, WPA administrator for New York City, to fingerprint all educational workers who come in contact with children. The ostensible reason for the order was that fingerprinting would prevent possible sex crimes. We are, of course, in agreement that precautions should be taken to avoid sex crimes, but it is self-evident that fingerprinting will not serve as a preventive and that the sex angle is being emphasized to justify the fingerprinting of a large section of our working class.

Our suspicions have been justified by the new course the fingerprinting is taking. Carpenters, printers, clerks, technical workers, and many others whose duties never bring them near children have reported to us that they have been ordered to submit to the fingerprinting.

We feel that the present order to fingerprint educational workers is simply a trial balloon which, if successful, will lead to the fingerprinting of more than 170,000 WPA workers in New York City. This would be a most dangerous precedent for the following reasons: (1) compulsory fingerprinting provides the basis for a labor blacklist; (2) it offers an easy means for control and intimidation of WPA workers; (3) it subjects a large body of organized workers to police surveillance; (4) it opens up unlimited possibilities for frame-up and blackmail; (5) it opens the way for search without warrant and denial of habeas corpus; (6) under a reactionary or fascist regime using the pretext of national emergency, it might lead to untold persecution and might conceivably be used to destroy the secret ballot.

WILLIAM LEVNER,
Executive Secretary
WPA Teachers' Union

New York, January 4

Japanese "Order" in China

Dear Sirs: The New York *Times* has recently been printing a series of columns by Hallett Abend, sent from the coastal town of Tsingtao and other places in so-called Japanese-occupied areas, in which he makes statements which would lead one to believe that the Chinese and Japanese are now a happy band of brothers, working together for a common cause, Japan's cause of course. Mr. Abend tells us (New York *Times,* November 9) that there is a trend toward orderliness in the Tsingtao area, but he does not tell us that the orderliness is of the same nature as that existing in Germany and due to the presence of the military police and the steel bayonet.

Since I have recently come from China and am returning there very shortly, I feel it incumbent upon me to write a refutation of Mr. Abend's statements, which tend to harm the Chinese cause at a moment when the need is great. I cannot speak of Tsingtao, but I know from my own experience that from other towns held by the Japanese the Chinese civilians leave in droves. I saw many thousands of innocent Chinese civilians, men, women, and children, during August and September of this year trekking over the hills, struggling day after day in the burning sun, without food and water, in order to get away from the Japanese. Mr. Abend should have visited the south bank of the Yangtze and seen the unfortunate civilians from Kiukiang and Kuling in one long sorry human stream, fleeing the kindly embraces of the Japanese.

As to the business activity of the Japanese, Mr. Abend forgot to mention that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their most lucrative and most dastardly activity is the revived opium trade. Perhaps he was not shown any of this nefarious trade by his Japanese friends and guides, but he could have seen it going on if he had had his eyes open. How naive of Mr. Abend to tell us that Shantung Province is headed by the venerable old man, Ma Liang, and that he is sponsored by the Japs! Ma Liang is just a figurehead, ninety-nine years old, behind whom the Japanese stand and through whom they carry out their machinations.

Knowing the high spirit and morale of the Chinese soldier and civilian, I refuse to believe that either the guerrilla or the peasant in the north or south is demoralized, or that there can be any sort of mass feeling against anyone except the Japanese. Mr. Abend seems to put us in the same category as the duped Japanese people, who accept as gospel truth what their military leaders tell them—that they are engaged in restoring "law and order" in China.

H. TALBOT,
Surgeon, Chinese Red Cross
New York, December 15

Soviet Foreign Trade

Dear Sirs: Edward Grove, quoting from *Current History* of June, 1938, in a letter in *The Nation* for December 17, attempts to prove that Soviet commerce with Germany is undiminished. Fortunately for the unity or the world boycott against the products of fascist aggressor states, Mr. Grove's information is erroneous.

The outstanding British publication on economics, the *Economist*, makes the following statement and gives the figures to back it up: "The most recent foreign trade figures of the U. S. S. R. provide small warrant for the apparent uncertainty in Western Europe about even the general lines of Soviet foreign policy. The curtailment of Soviet foreign trade with Japan, Germany, and Italy during the first seven months of 1938 has been the most striking feature of recent Soviet economic policy abroad." The figures, cited in the November 5 issue of the same publication, which is hardly to be branded as pro-Soviet, specifically show a drop of Soviet imports from Germany from 308,463,000 rubles in 1936 to 35,038,000 in the first seven months of 1938. Even more drastic drops are to be noted in Soviet trade with Germany's allies, Italy and Japan. Italian shipments to the U. S. S. R. slumped from 42,014,000 rubles in 1936 to 52,000 rubles in the opening seven month period of 1938, Japan's drop for the same period being from 61,968,000 to 354,000 rubles.

HERBERT ROSENBLUM
Brooklyn, N. Y., January 3

True Patriotism

Dear Sirs: Dear old England has not changed. Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote the following as part of a preface dated Rome, February, 1860. How contemporary it sounds!

And if patriotism means the flattery of one's nation in every case, then the patriot, take it as you please, is merely the courtier, which I am not, though I have written "Napoleon III in Italy." It is time to limit the significance of certain terms, or to enlarge the significance of certain things. Nationality is excellent in its place; and the instinct of self-love is the root of a man, which will develop into sacrificial virtues. But all the virtues are means and uses; and if we hinder their tendency to growth and expansion, we both destroy them as virtues and degrade them to that rankest species of corruption reserved for the most noble organizations. For instance, non-intervention in the affairs of neighboring states is a high political virtue; but non-intervention does not mean passing by on the other side when your neighbor falls among thieves—or Phariseeism would recover it from Christianity. Freedom itself is virtue as well as privilege; but freedom of the seas does not mean piracy; nor freedom of the land, brigandage; nor freedom of the press, freedom to calumniate and lie. So, if patriotism be a virtue indeed, it cannot mean an exclusive devotion to our country's interests, for that is only another form of devotion to personal interests, family interests, or provincial interests, all of which, if not driven past themselves, are vulgar and immoral objects. . . . If the man who does not look beyond this natural life is of a somewhat narrow order, what must be the man who does not look beyond his own frontier . . .?

I confess that I dream of the day when an English statesman shall arise with a heart too large for England; having courage in the face of his countrymen to assert of some suggested policy: "This is good for your trade; this is necessary for your domination; but it will vex a people hard by; it will hurt a people further off; it will profit nothing to the general humanity: therefore, away with it!—it is not for you or for me." When a British minister dares to speak so, and when a British public applauds him speaking, then shall the nation be glorious, and her praise, instead of exploding from within, from loud civic mouths, come to her from without, as all worthy praise must, from the alliances she has fostered and the populations she has saved.

SIRVART POLADIAN
Berkeley, Cal., January 12

More Haggin Wanted

Dear Sirs: I have just discovered that B. H. Haggin writes his column for *The Nation* only every other week. Why, oh, why don't you let him write more and oftener? I happen to know that he has a great following and that every one of us would like to read him every week instead of having to wait so long between columns. Your excellent magazine can, of course, stand on its own merits, but please do give Mr. Haggin a free rein! JULIUS J. SPECTOR
New York, January 12

CONTRIBUTORS

HUBERT HERRING is chairman of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

AUREL KOLNAI is the author of "The War Against the West."

WILLSON WHITMAN is writing a book on the TVA, of which the present series of articles is a part.

ERNEST O. HAUSER is the author of "The Rest of the World." He has traveled extensively in the Orient and is now on his way back to China and Japan.

CONSTANCE ROURKE is the author of "Charles Sheeler: Artist in the American Tradition."

HUGH H. DARBY is an associate in the Department of Biological Chemistry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University.

ROBERT VAMBERY, son of the Hungarian scholar Rustem Vambéry, is now living in this country. He has written several plays and served as dramatic adviser to a Berlin theater.

MILDRED ADAMS has studied Spanish affairs over a long period. She translated "Invertebrate Spain" by José Ortega y Gasset.

ELISEO VIVAS is a member of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Wisconsin.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN is assistant professor of French at Columbia University.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs, Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED